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Howe, Cheney Approach to Arms Dialogue Criticized

*PM0404111789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Apr 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Gennadiy Vasilyev "View From Moscow": "Give Peace A Chance!"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In today's world increasingly clear signs of positive change are appearing. Dialogue is becoming more intensive, East-West mistrust is being overcome, and important international accords designed to build a world without wars and without weapons are being drawn up. General human consensus is being sought in the movement toward a new world order. This process resembles the increase in temperature with the coming of spring. But, as often happens in spring, the ice floes are reluctant to release the land and winter counterattacks with snow and frosts. The same also happens in international affairs. The obstructions of the past are very great. Habits based on the use of force in world politics that took decades and even millennia to form are making themselves felt. Influential Western circles that "live off" the arms race and increases in tension have a great egotistical interest in this.

Some Western figures even vote in favor of an agreement eliminating an entire class of arms with one hand while holding a plan for deploying new, even more sophisticated and accurate missiles in the other. Why bother, you may ask? A question that I would like to ask British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, who is continually agitating for the modernization of NATO's tactical nuclear missiles on the pretext that this is necessary to compensate for the U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles that are to be eliminated. Not only does this approach undermine accords secured at the cost of tremendous effort, but it also inspires mistrust in people regarding the possibility of any reasonable alternative that accords with everyone's interests.

Since the conversation has turned to recurrences of "winter" in international affairs, I cannot help but dwell on speeches made by new U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney. In an interview with a U.S. television company he endeavored to put a damper on the optimism of the Western public and its hopes for further progress at the Soviet-U.S. talks on arms reduction. Cheney admonished those who reckon that the "cold war" has ended. He urged people not to embark on any reductions in U.S. military might until "we see fundamental long-term changes in Soviet policy and a real reduction in the weapons systems aimed at the United States." Logic that is strange, to say the least. Yet the arms mentioned by the head of the Pentagon can only be dismantled if analogous U.S. systems aimed at the USSR that are mentioned in the draft Soviet-U.S. treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms are removed. We are by no means to blame for the delay in putting the finishing touches on this treaty and signing it. Of course, one should not impart too great a significance to such statements. Strong-arm phraseology has taken a firm hold in the U.S. political lexicon. The previous White House incumbent made extensive use of it, yet Soviet-U.S. dialogue has developed quite successfully over the last few years. But when "hardline" speeches are uttered during a long lull in our relations, you cannot help thinking: What kind of policy is being drawn up deep inside the new Washington administration? I would like to believe that the statements on "continuity" that have been reiterated so often in Washington during the transfer of power from one Republican president to another are not merely words and that they will be embodied in real action in line with the interests of both the American and Soviet peoples and the peoples of the entire world. There should be continuity with regard to the positive elements accumulated in Soviet-U.S. relations over the last few years. Then it will be possible to halve the dread strategic arsenal, substantially reduce conventional arms in Europe, and remove chemical weapons forever from the repositories of death.

Every time I write that there has been a breakthrough in public consciousness in understanding the grim realities of our time, I catch myself wondering: Am I not exaggerating the significance of the changes taking place, am I not guilty of wishful thinking? I believe not; I believe that this time peace really does have a chance. First, because the realization of the danger of nuclear apocalypse and the dreadful intermingling of global problems are indeed becoming a factor in the daily life of millions of people. Second, restructuring in the USSR—another very important factor that, in particular, did not exist during the period of detente in the seventies—is having an effect today. The noble processes of democratization, glasnost, and comprehensive renewal of society are having a mighty effect on both the situation within our country and also its international position.

Let us be honest with ourselves and with people. It is not only the people who bear the main burden of responsibility—imperialist militarist circles—who are to blame for the fact that the incipient East-West dialogue broke down and the winds of hostility, confrontation, and increased arms race swept the planet after a period of temporary improvement in the world atmosphere. We often helped them with our thoughtless actions, dogmatism, and inflexibility. Now USSR foreign policy has come to be characterized by breadth of vision, dynamism, and realistic consideration of both our own vital needs and also the interests of our partners in international relations and imbued with the humane ideas of the new thinking. That is why it is meeting with such approval and support from the world public.

"The Kremlin is now way ahead of everyone with regard to the most important right—the right to survival," a well-known U.S. Sovietologist has written. At one time, when we led the entire world in everything—from the production of cast iron to the ballet—citing such a quotation could have been seen as yet another manifestation of official zeal. Today it can be regarded as a simple statement of fact.

Official Defends Arms Policy From UK Criticism

PM0404143889 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Interview with Andrey Grachev, 'deputy head' of the CPSU Central Committee International Relations Department, from the Channel 4 News program presented by newscaster Peter Sissons—all Grachev remarks as heard]

[Excerpts] [Sissons] The foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was tonight playing down his statement that the Soviet Union was trying to "beguile" Western opinion, while the Soviet Army still looms over Europe. His remarks in a television interview come just 2 days before the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, arrives in Britain for talks. But Sir Geoffrey said this evening that his statement contained nothing that was new. [passage omitted]

High on the agenda in Downing Street will be arms control. The prime minister is adamant that NATO's short-range nuclear weapons in Europe should be modernized, and despite Mr Gorbachev's promise in December to cut Soviet troops by half-a-million and recent arms negotiations, the foreign secretary on tonight's Panorama program says there's still a long way to go.

[Begin Howe recording] I must say that it's interesting to see the way in which the Soviet Union are constantly seeking to beguile public opinion by throwing something else into the pot. I've said many times that when you are as heavily armed as they are, when you have got a well-stocked hat full of well armed rabbits, you can go on producing rabbits from that hat for a long time to come. We in the West have to maintain our commitment to our security and the agenda that we have set. [end Howe recording]

[Sissons] Well, joining us now is a senior member of the Soviet delegation, Andrey Grachev, who's deputy head of the International Relations Department of the Communist Party's Central Committee. Mr Grachev, what do you say to those remarks by the foreign secretary? He's virtually accusing you of being embarked on a public relations exercise while your army still adopts a threatening posture.

[Grachev] I don't know, I thought we lived through or we left already behind the time of the allegations about the Soviet bear menacing the Western Europe. At the same time I don't think that such actions by the Soviet leadership like unilateral reduction of its conventional troops, which were always regarded or presented by the West as the most important threat to its vital interest, should be considered or should be taken only as exercises in public relations.

[Sissons] Does it disappoint you that after Mrs Thatcher's immensely successful and glittering visit to Moscow a couple of years ago a British foreign secretary can still make those sort of remarks?

[Grachev] Well, I would say that I am hoping that we are living in a new period, in the period which is certainly marked by the Euro-missile treaty which is concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States, by the period marked by the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, by the successful conclusion of the Vienna talks—I mean of Vienna conference and the beginning of the talks on conventional armaments—that means, in the new situation of relationship between East and West. And that's why I wouldn't think it's constructive to go back to exercising, well, a little bit of a ritual mutual propagandistic accusations.

[Sissons] Is the modernization of NATO's battlefield nuclear weapons a test, in your view, of your expectations from the West?

[Grachev] We would feel that at least it is not the very appropriate signal that we would be expecting on the Western side, especially at the period when we are hoping—I think, together with the West—to abolish or to liquidate the asymmetries, the imbalances, including on the Eastern side, which were considered by the West as the justification for maintaining and for the perfectioning of the nuclear deterrent potential. But we are starting this kind of negotiations now, so at least it is not very, perhaps, appropriate to start moving in the opposite direction on the Western side.

[Sissons] Now, in no less a newspaper than the London TIMES today, the activities of the KGB are said to be increasing and are quoted as being a source of tension between our two governments. What's your answer to that?

[Grachev] You know, well, I think that the KGB reappearing each time when there is some prospect of bettering of the East-West relation, I think perhaps it is...this KGB which has become the eternal rabbit reappearing out of the hat of the Western dignitaries.

[Sissons] But do you see any obligation on the KGB to scale down its worldwide activities as part of the new era in international relations?

[Grachev] I think and I hope that with the glasnost here—which to my understanding is an appropriate and necessary element for policies of all the governments, whether it be East or West—the activities of all the intelligence services should be and would be reduced.

[Sissons] So, in a nutshell, what do you hope that this visit by Mr Gorbachev to Britain at the end of this week will achieve?

[Grachev] I think it will achieve new stage of confidence, new impulse that would, as it was the case about 4 years ago—a new impulse for the development of relationship between East and West, but this time on a more concrete level.

[Sissons] Results.

[Grachev] That's right.

[Sissons] Andrey Grachev, thank you very much indeed.

Chemical Weapons Stocks, Policy Discussed

LD0404132189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1242 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, April 4 (TASS)—"For the last decades the Soviet Union has been and remains the most active and consistent supporter of the idea of banning chemical weapons, Lieutenant General Stanislav Petrov, head of the USSR Chemical Troops told Sergey Kulik, TASS political observer. As for the chemical weapons stockpile held here, its creation was a forced measure, a response to the United States achieving an overwhelming superiority over the USSR in the field of chemical arms towards the end of the sixties. So, our chemical weapons are a deterrent weapon."

"It was the Soviet Union that made the political decision on the necessity of putting an end to weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000, including chemical weapons. We consider that a solution to this problem can be reached only if a convention is signed on the complete banning of chemical weapons under effective international control. But without waiting for the signing of the convention, the Soviet Union has stopped production of chemical weapons and announced that it will begin eliminating its stocks at a specially built enterprise near Chapayevsk."

In response to a request to comment on the assertions appearing in the Western press that the Soviet Union "has not spread the principles of glasnost to its chemical arsenals," the lieutenant general said: "I examined such accusations against us, which appeared, among other places, in the Sunday edition of the London DAILY TELEGRAPH. The USSR attaches great importance to implementing confidence-building measures and is organizing showings [pokaz] of its military facilities and giving information about questions that were previously among those that were totally secret. I would remind you, for example, of the demonstration of our standard arsenal of chemical weapons, which we held recently in Shikhany."

In connection with claims that have appeared on the pages of the London THE SUNDAY TIMES regarding the need for the Soviet Union to publish certain "accurate data" on chemical weapon stocks within the USSR, the head of the USSR Chemical Troops remarked: "Sadly, our openness does not always meet with the due response in the West. So, the Soviet Union's announcement that the size of its chemical weapon stocks is no more that 50,000 tonnes of toxic substances was met with outright mistrust in the West. As before, far longer and clearly fabricated figures appear there—that we have as many as 300,000 tonnes in stock. In this connection, I wish to again confirm that the size of our toxic substance reserves does not exceed 50,000 tonnes. The Soviet Union has also declared an end to production of these weapons, that there are no stores of our chemical weapons beyond the borders of the national territory and that they have not been handed over to anyone. As far as the United States, it has thus far refused to provide information on its chemical weapons stocks."

"The impression develops," stressed General Petrov, "that talk about the 'lack of glasnost' in the area of chemical weapons in the USSR is disseminated to justify the plans of certain NATO circles to continue production of their own types of these weapons of mass destruction." If anyone is in doubt that this is the case, they should turn to a lengthy article published in THE WASHINGTON POST on 15 January. It is about expanding the production of the poisonous substance DF at the Pine Bluff works in the state of Kansas, and then the conclusion is made: "The Pentagon has opened the doors to broad deployment of the new generation U.S. "binary" armaments that are intended to kill with the help of invisible gases which have no smell."

We are also concerned about the spread of technology that is capable of producing chemical weapons in "Third World" countries. Playing a part in this, not least of all, are the private firms and corporations of industrially developed countries in the West. It is probably no accident that a group of U.S. senators headed by the Republican R. Dole has submitted an amendment to the U.S. Congress which is aimed at drawing up and applying sanctions against companies which assist in spreading chemical weapons. A list of such companies, furthermore not only U.S. ones, but also ones registered in the FRG, France, Belgium, and Great Britain has been affixed to this amendment.

'Nonprovocative Defense' Notion Explained

PM0404154789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Major General V. Makarevskiy article under the rubric "We Tell at Readers' Request": "'Nonprovocative Defense'"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "I have encountered in the press the expression 'nonprovocative defense.' Could KRASNAYA ZVEZDA speak about the essence of this concept? Yu. Vedernikov, Moscow."

The editors asked Major General V. Makarevskiy to answer the reader's question.

"Nonprovocative defense" is an unofficial concept formulated in Western countries by individual scientists, various nongovernmental organizations, representatives of opposition parties, and the group "Generals for Peace and Disarmament." The principles of this concept are as follows:

rejection of the first use of nuclear weapons, with subsequent total rejection of them and their phased removal from the European Continent;

removal of the most dangerous offensive types of weapons from the zone of contact between the armed forces of the two military blocs;

restructuring of military doctrines and troop structure along defensive lines.

In other words, it is a question of reducing the armed forces of the sides by mutual agreement and changing them qualitatively, and of removing such types of offensive weapons as long-range tactical strike aircraft, tactical missiles, long-range artillery, combat helicopters, tanks, and other types of arms. Western specialists supporting "nonprovocative defense" suggest different numerical calculations in their studies. What, for example, might be the depth of "nonprovocative defense"? They give figures between 25 and 80 km. This is the area over which both the means of "passive" defense designed to contain the enemy and mechanized formations for the purpose of throwing back the enemy and restoring the initial position may be stationed.

The proposals of Bundestag Deputy Andreas von Buelow, the West German scientist and politician, are very radical in this respect. He believes that defense must be stronger than offense. Accordingly, means of attack should, in his opinion, be reduced sharply and means of antitank and air defense developed.

According to the West German figure's idea, three zones must be created in the central European theater of military operations. The first must cover an area 60 km wide on both sides of the dividing line between the blocs. Units armed with small arms and antitank and air defense means would mainly be stationed here.

The second zone is the territory of the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary on the one hand, and the FRG, Denmark, and Luxembourg on the other; less the first zone, of course. The author proposes that this area from the Baltic to the Alps should have a total of no more than 2,000 tanks and as many artillery systems on each side.

The third zone would include the territories of the Netherlands, Belgium, and France—that is, the area to the Atlantic—and, in the east, Poland and the Soviet oblasts right up to the Urals. This is the zone of strategic reserves, where the number of arms would also be taken to an agreed level.

There are a number of other specific proposals within the framework of the switch to "nonprovocative defense." These concern, in particular, changing the structures of the opposing groupings in the direction of simplifying them, the possibility of using technical means of defense, the special features of defensive infrastructures on the flanks of the groupings, and so forth.

They all undoubtedly merit very serious study, particularly as they have certain points of contact with the Soviet idea of reasonable sufficiency for defense. As is known, the Soviet Union has taken specific steps to realize this idea, to lower the level of military confrontation on the continent, and to substantially reduce conventional arms and armed forces in Europe.

Unfortunately, this is not how things stand in the West, where the official line of the military-political leadership is hardly being amended in accordance with the conclusions of objective scientific studies, which run counter to accepted stereotypes. We can only hope that this state of affairs will change in the future. A common interest demands this—the peoples' security in the nuclear age.

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 4 Apr

Gorbachev Visit, Global Issues

LD0404155389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Apr (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Cuba and his conversation with Fidel Castro are the central event in the world today, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry, at a briefing today. "An exchange of views is underway on the Island of Freedom on a wide range of issues affecting the further development and strengthening of bilateral cooperation in the interests of the peoples of the USSR and Cuba, as well as a broad spectrum of international problems," he noted.

On the upcoming official friendly visit to the GDR by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign affairs minister, which is scheduled for 12-13 April, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said: "We regard the Soviet minister's visit as an important stage in the joint work to implement the accords between the leaders of our parties and states on bringing relations between the USSR and the GDR to a qualitatively new level."

The representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry reported that on the occasion that marked the anniversary on 3 April of the signing of an agreement between Ethiopia and Somalia to normalize their bilateral relations, Eduard Shevardnadze sent messages to Berhanu Bayeh, Ethiopian foreign affairs minister, and Mohamed Ali Hamud, Somali minister of foreign affairs. The documents emphasize that implementation of the provisions of the agreement "is laying the path toward establishing good-neighborliness and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries who live side by side."

According to reports from Namibia, armed clashes are continuing in the north of that country, and the numbers of killed and wounded are growing, reported Vadim Perfilyev. Consultations are going on in the UN Security Council, where a report by the UN secretary general on these events has been presented. "Given the present situation, it is extremely important, we believe, to secure an immediate halt to combat actions and the bloodshed," said the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman. "This would allow the UN to take control of the situation and return it to the course of (?implementing) the agreed plan of action to grant Namibia its independence."

Attention was drawn at the briefing to the reports coming in from Central America. "The recent meeting in San Jose of the foreign ministers of the five states in the region took, as we see it, the important decision to ask the UN secretary general to start the process of setting up international groups of observers to monitor the halt of foreign aid to the irregular military formations stationed in the countries of the region, and also to check that no Central American state's territory is used as a springboard for aggression against another states," said Vadim Perfilyev. "We regard this accord as a practical step in implementing the Guatemalan and Salvadoran agreements."

In the course of the visit to Greece which ended today of the highly placed official of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Vladimir Polyakov, great attention was given to the problem of an Arab-Israeli settlement, said Vadim Perfilyev. "In the Soviet Union, great significance is attributed to an exchange of views with Greece, which is in contact regarding stepping up the peace process in the Near East with the interested sides."

Afghan Rebels Mass Near Jalalabad

LD0404164689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Apr (TASS)—The concentration of rebel troops close to Jalalabad may be viewed as a sign that the opposition is preparing to decisively storm this city, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, at a briefing today. Opposition troops are subjecting the security posts of government troops in the city's residential areas to mass artillery fire. Some 265 rebels have been wiped out and 120 wounded by retaliatory fire from the Afghan Armed Forces. There has been an increase in the quantities of armor and artillery in the possession of the rebels.

Many armed opposition units are refusing to take part in the fighting for Jalalabad. Battle commanders and members of their detachments are saying that those people who have been living peacefully in Pakistan over the past years and are today trying to create their own government taking only their own selfish interests into account, are having to fight there, Vadim Perfilyev reported.

The inhabitants of Kabul are rendering assistance to the defenders of Jalalabad. Blood, which will be sent to the troops in Jalalabad, is being donated in the Afghan capital. Civil servants in a number of areas of the capital, as well as members of the people's militia have donated their daily earnings to the Jalalabad fund.

Mongolian Political Moves Assessed

LD0404171189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow 4 Apr (TASS)—Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, gave a positive assessment of the foreign political actions by the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] at a briefing held here today. He recalled the accord signed between the USSR and the MPR on the withdrawal from Mongolia of a significant part (75 percent) of Soviet troops. "Preparations are currently under way for the withdrawal, which is to start in May of this year and finish, two stages later, in August of next year," said the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman.

The visit to India in March by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the MPR People's Great Hural Presidium, along with the talks he had with the Indian leaders and the outcome of his visit generally—all this is a practical contribution to the common accumulation of trust, good-neighborliness, and cooperation between the states of the Asian and Pacific region on the basis of the new political thinking.

The fact that, for the first time in 40 years of Mongolian-Sino diplomatic relations, the head of the Mongolian foreign political department, Mongolian Foreign Minister Tserenpiliin Gombosuren, recently visited Beijing is a notable milestone on the road to the complete normalization of relations between the two neighboring sovereign states of the PRC and the MPR. The Soviet side can only hail this, stressed the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman.

The MPR has proposed hosting a meeting this summer in Ulaanbaatar for journalists from the press and the other media of the Asian and Pacific Ocean region countries on the topic "The Role of the Mass Media in the Struggle for Security in the Asian and Pacific Ocean Region: Ways and Means of Ensuring Prompt Coverage of Events in the Region," said Vadm Perfilyev.

On Central American Peace Process

LD0404184689 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—The Soviet Union regards the outcome of a recent San Jose meeting of the foreign ministers of five Central American countries as a practical step in carrying out the Guatemala and El Salvador agreements, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told reporters Tuesday.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's information directorate, said the San Jose meeting took an important step in addressing the U.N. secretary general with a request to start the process of creating international groups of observers.

The observers will supervise the cessation of foreign aid to non-regular military detachments stationed in the countries of the region and the non-use of the territory of one Central American country as a bridgehead for aggression against another country, [words indistinct] permanent Security Council member the Soviet Union is ready to render assistance in creating such a mechanism and ensuring its efficiency," he said.

The spokesman pointed out that the difficulties faced by the Central American ministers when they discussed procedures for the demobilisation, repatriation and movement of Contras evoked natural concern of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union thinks that Honduras's proposal to link this issue to the demobilisation of Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front detachments in El Salvador, which was supported by Costa Rica and El Salvador, contradicts the spirit and letter of the agreements reached at the latest meeting of Central American presidents," Perfilyev said, adding that it can become a serious obstacle to the agreements' implementation.

Other proposals advanced in San Jose and aimed at dragging out the process of Contras' demobilisation until February 1990 also evoke an ambivalent reaction.

"All these factors considerably reduce world public hopes for a Central American settlement, which have appeared in the past few months," the Soviet spokesman said.

"Nevertheless, the Soviet Union expects the negotiating process in the region to continue and bring about, in the long run, the full normalisation of the situation."

On Illinois Delegation Visit

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[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—Expanding contacts between constituent Soviet republics and individual United States [as received] are evidenced by a friendly visit to this country by an Illnois trade delegation headed by the state governor, James R. Thompson, First Deputy Chief of the Soviet Foreign Office Information Directorate Vadim Perfilyev told reporters at a briefing today.

James R. Thompson and other Illinois business and political representatives were received by Russian Federation Deputy Premier Fikryat Tabeyev and the republic's Foreign Minister Vladimir Vinogradov. They had talks at the government's Foreign Economic Commission, the National Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Soviet Bank for Foreign Economic Activity and some other state and public organisations.

As a result, a document of intent was signed as a first step towards establishing partnership ties between Illinois and the Russian Federation. Abbot Laboratories, a major American agricultural firm, will represent the interests of Illinois administration and business in Moscow.

In the course of the visit, a protocol was signed between the Chicago-based Theatre League and the Russian Federation's Union of Theatrical Workers. An agreement on cooperation in the field of architecture was also reached.

"Our American counterparts view the visit as a great success. The Soviets have expressed willingness to further promote exchanges between local and republic authorities with the aim of establishing and developing mutually advantageous cooperation in trade, economical, cultural and other areas, Vadim Perfilyev said.

'Roundtable' on Gorbachev's Cuba, UK Visit

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["International Observers Roundtable" program with All-Union Radio commentator Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, IZVESTIYA political observer Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, and political observer Nikolkay Vladimirovich Shishlin]

[Text] [Levin] Hello there, esteemed comrades. As you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev begins his visit to Cuba today, after which he is to pay a visit to Britain. On the way to Freedom Island he will have a meeting in Shannon with Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey. So this will be our main topic of discussion today. What can one expect from these visits and what significance do they hold? We shall kick off, naturally, with the visit to Cuba, which is undoubtedly an event of particular importance.

[Shishlin] Allow me, if you would, Viktor Nikolayevich, to make two observations. First, it is best, of course, to talk about the results of visits after they have taken place.

[Bovin] It is more interesting as well.

[Shishlin] Yes, that is the first thing. Second, these visits by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the countries you have mentioned should really be seen in the context of all Soviet foreign policy and the way in which that policy has been put into practice during the first few weeks and months of 1989. I think that these visits are actually taking place at an unusual time in international relations.

On the whole, of course, the dominant trend in international affairs is a positive one that gained momentum and developed further during 1988. At the same time, of course, there are the familiar dark spots in international affairs as well. This is quite apart from the fact that the international affairs agenda itself is one that never comes to an end. Bearing these provisos in mind, however, I think you are right to say that the visit to Cuba, to Freedom Island, is of particular importance, with regard to the aims set before it and the possible results one might expect from it.

First, Cuba is one of the few socialist countries that the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has not yet managed to visit. Second, Cuba is our longstanding, reliable, and sturdy friend and ally in the Western Hemisphere. Third, Cuba and the Soviet Union live, naturally, under different conditions, and if the social orientation and development of the two countries are similar or identical, the actual choices of forms and methods of tackling socialist tasks do not and cannot coincide, purely by virtue of the differences in the historical peculiarities and historical circumstances of the countries. Be this as it may, however, I am absolutely convinced that this visit will definitely serve to enrich substantially Soviet-Cuban cooperation, to enrich substantially Soviet-Cuban ties in all spheres.

[Bovin] We could mention some fairly specific things here. We do have well-developed economic ties. Approximately 6 percent of our foreign trade turnover, for instance, is with Cuba. This is more than our trade with many large developed countries.

[Levin] Whereas 70 percent of Cuba's exports go to the Soviet Union.

[Bovin] Yes, for Cuba it is even greater. We invest quite a lot of capital in Cuba and provide it with regular assistance—including military assistance, by the way, given Cuba's special circumstances. Thus, we have a whole range of very specific topics which should be discussed with the Cubans in order to make these mutual economic activities of ours more efficient, both for us, incidentally, and for Cuba as well. That is, a totally concrete and businesslike discussion on absolutely clear-cut economic and political-economic problems. This is something I would like to stress.

[Shishlin] Forgive me, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, but I would just like to make one little rejoinder. Did you notice the statement by U.S. Vice President Quayle the other day, in which he said that the United States would welcome an announcement during the visit about the Soviet Union ending its assistance to Cuba? A rather (?impertinent) sort of statement.

[Bovin] Well, yes, but he is still a young man, Quayle, and he can be forgiven. But everytime we appear [reference to Cuba], Americans get terribly nervous because they regard Central America as their own preserve and it is impossible to move close to the region. Incidentally, I am absolutely certain that when he speaks in Cuba, Mikhail Sergeyevich will definitely talk about Central America, because we too, if you please, have interests there. We have good relations with Nicaragua, which is something we make no attempt to hide from anyone, and we do not in the least wish to feel like outsiders there. There is a very complex bundle of issues there. The Americans have been struggling with them for the last 10 years, banking mainly on force, but have achieved nothing. All that force has just evaporated without a trace. Nicaragua stands firm; the civil war goes on in El Salvador—so many have perished there but there is still no progress. So, those methods are not working. But perhaps—I am sure that Mikhail Sergeyevich will take with him different methods of solving those problems, methods which, in principle, (?we have proposed) for all conflicts in the world. This could also, I think, be a very interesting factor in the development of events—a way of acting proposed by our country and underpinned by the views of Nicaragua, Cuba, and other progressive forces in the region with the aim of resolving those local and not so local conflicts.

[Shishlin] This was mentioned earlier in the speech at the United Nations in December of last year. After all, the one universal method of resolving conflicts and crises is still the use of political means rather than military means, which is on what the United States has been banking. True, the United States is heaping praise on itself at the moment for the solution achieved between the President and Congress regarding the so-called humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan contras. This aid is running at about $4.5 million a month—per month, I would like to stress.

[Bovin] But at the same time, as I understand it, the Americans have put the brakes on the withdrawal of those Somozists from Honduran territory. The presidents there reached an agreement on such a withdrawal, but the Americans made, well, certain moves and the contras are still in place.

[Shishlin] First and foremost, of course, the visit will be centered around Soviet-Cuban relations. That is without doubt the most important, the most essential part of the visit, and I totally agree with you that this is not some sort of abstract topic of discussion....

[Bovin, interrupting] It is a very concrete one.

[Shishlin] It is a perfectly specific one, whether it be a question of economics, of politics, of tactics, if you like, in international affairs, or of philosophy. For philosophy, when it comes down to it, is not a sea of abstractions either; it is the conception, the premise from which practical action with a clearly visible objective originates.

[Levin] Incidentally, while we are on the subject of philosophy it would be appropriate to mention, as you did earlier, Nikolay Vladimirovich, that the Cubans have their own views on certain issues concerning internal development, which is quite natural and in the way of things. We are saying more and more frequently now that in each country socialist construction bears the colors of the national flag, i.e. it is specific to that nation.

[Bovin] (?Well, I would not say) colors; it is not only a matter of colors....

[Levin, interrupting] The purport.

[Bovin] It is in the very substance of the process that there can be things that do not coincide. This is what is actually happening: These differences between our country and Cuba are now very clearly visible, but they are merely due to our different circumstances, the historical circumstances or times, if you like, in which the countries find themselves. (?It is also due to) the leader figures, because, after all, Fidel Castro is one of the last romantic revolutionary figures, one might say, of the 20th century. There is not even anyone left to compare him with, because all the others in his category have now passed away. He is the last remaining member of that cohort, cohort which....

[Shishlin, interrupting] The Chinese leaders?

[Levin] Yes.

[Bovin] But still, there was not the same kind of romanticism that has always surrounded the figure of Castro. So in this respect he is a unique figure, and this, incidentally, lends local color to what is happening in Cuba, to contacts with Cuba and so on. It is an interesting aspect.

[Levin] Yes, but when we say that there are natural differences and at the same time a basically common line, we have to bear in mind, of course, that Cuba is in a far from simple situation, economically and in other ways, while at the same time we cannot fail to notice Cuba's very visible achievements, of which she is justly proud. To mention a few very eloquent figures, before the revolution Cuba had the worst infant mortality figure in Latin America—60 deaths per 1,000 births—but it now has the lowest rate at 13.1. Average live expectancy in Cuba was 55 years before the revolution, whereas now it is 74.

[Bovin] Statistics which are better than ours?

[Levin] Better. This also shows that we, too, have some things we can learn from the Cubans. We for a long time adopted the position that we generally were sharing experience and were sometimes even teaching. Now the time has come to learn, too, and the Cubans also have something to teach us.

Incidentally, the process of correcting mistakes and eliminating negative phenomena—they call it rectification—is under way in Cuba. As part of that process, preparations are currently afoot for elections to local bodies of power. The Cubans are nominating for those elections between two and eight candidates for each seat. It is a most interesting principle. I think that it is even more constructive than what there is in our country. In our country, it is possible under our election legislation to nominate one candidate, but then there is no competition. The Cubans have decided on two or more. As for the upper limit, well, one can argue about that. I mean that interesting processes are under way which it is useful to look at and to draw the corresponding conclusions.

After Cuba, there are to be talks in Britain. Well, I think that....

[Bovin, interrupting] Such a theme is fairly difficult because if one is to take the main European countries, then there probably have not been such difficult relations with any other country as there have been with Britain. First some sort of detente comes about between us, then there is a slump in relations. Then once more relations seemed to have become smooth when again they go downhill. Interestingly, I had an acquaintance, a British diplomat; he worked in Moscow and then worked in the Foreign Ministry in London. We once happened to discuss the matter and I asked him: Tell me, we have always had steady contacts with France, for example, and with Germans and with the Italians. Why are things with Britain like that? Well, you know, he said, the whole thing is that the Germans cannot live without you. There was a problem at one time, and there still is today, but they cannot solve it without you. The French cannot consider themselves a great power without good relations with you, but we do not need anything from you. So we can say all that we want to, and you sometimes become offended. There definitely is a certain measure of jocularity in that, but there is also a clear measure of truth. Of course, this longstanding lack of stability in Soviet-British relations stresses now all the more the significance of this visit which should, if we take the last, let's say, 10 years, take Soviet-British relations generally out onto a smooth patch without such sharp slumps, and without any fluctuations, and I would say that the situation that has now formed in Britain is promoting that. The 10 years of Thatcher have been very interesting years—the so-called Thatcherite revolution. You see, they say that lord, the earl of Liverpool was last century the longest in power. He was prime minister for 15 years without interruption, and that is the maximum figure in the history of Britain. Thatcher has already made it to 10 years.

[Levin] She has already taken second place.

[Bovin] Yes, and in another 5 years she will take first place, but the point is not the number of years. The point is that Thatcher has brought about fairly big changes in the internal situation in Britain, changes from a conservative point of view. She has dismantled, in effect, the welfare state which Labor had created. She has introduced absolutely tough laws of the market economy, and has switched them on full blast. For her the main problem was inflation, and she has in general done something to reduce it, but at the cost of unemployment which has grown for instance—now there are over 2 million unemployed there, and when Thatcher came to power there were 1 million, and she considers this correct. At the cost of this clampdown, at the cost of increasing the reserve army of hired workers a clear growth in labor productivity has happened.

If, when Thatcher came to power, Britain was the sick man of Europe in terms of economic indicators, then the economy has now, due to the switching on of these levers used in classical capitalist entrepreneurship, emerged generally into a not bad place—sixth or fifth among the developed countries of the capitalist camp.

But she has paid, of course, a high social price. There is no geting away from that: There is unemployment, a diminished role for trade unions, and a broadening of the gap between the rich and the poor—all that is happening there in Britain. So that is the contradictory situation existing there. Naturally from the point of view of those classes which hold power in their hands, and at least enjoy the fruits of that power, she has, of course, won immense prestige. So here we have a very stable partner who undoubtedly feels confident, and I would say one who, among the developed capitalist countries, is now perhaps making claims for a role which is even greater than Bush's, because from her point of view, Bush is a politician with little experience and she is now the leader of the West. I repeat that this is a most interesting, serious, and difficult partner, and a stable partner for those talks which Mikhail Sergeyevich will be conducting in London.

[Shishlin] I think that precisely that word stability can be applied to the development of Soviet-British relations over recent years. I agree with the point that there have been steep fluctuations in Soviet-British relations throughout all postwar history, but insofar as the last few years are concerned, we must say that we are conducting a fairly intensive political dialogue with Britain. I think that we can indeed reach the level of $2.5 billion in trade turnover by 1990 in terms of economic relations, and some joint ventures are beginning to develop, maybe not so quickly with the British, although generally we must say that there are a great many unutilized reserves in economic relations with Britain. And, of course, 2.5 billion is not such a weighty indicator for countries with the potential that the Soviet Union and Great Britain possess.

[Bovin] The trouble is that we now have nothing to offer the British from the processing industries. And with raw materials (?we cannot get much further).

[Shishlin] Yes, the processing industries in our country have something like a five-percent share of the goods involved in trade with Britain. And our contacts are acquiring some new features in the humanitarian and cultural spheres. But the main thing is, I think, the fact that generally the tasks confronting international relations today, in the development of international relations and in evening them out, cannot be achieved without a very active Soviet-British partnership.

[Bovin] Especially if we are to take the common European home, which particularly interests us today.

[Shishlin] And in terms of the building and designing of that common European home, it is just inconceivable that this could be achieved without Britain. But there are more general tasks, more general tasks. Let us take the problem of limiting and winding down the arms race. After all, following the initial successes in this direction which have been achieved to a considerable extent due to Soviet-U.S. efforts, new steps are required which are more bold, more far-reaching.

[Bovin] Well, I fear that Thatcher in this respect will not be the most convenient partner for us, because, so far as I understand, she has a fairly tough position. If you take tactical nuclear weapons, she is a most vigorous advocate, I think, of modernizing such weapons, which would generally lead us off somewhere that is hardly in the direction of disarmament, but quite the contrary. And there is one more major problem, and it is the problem of, so to speak, the modernization of conventional weapons. After all, we are currently conducting talks about those weapons which were created 15 or 20 years ago, and which are standing there in the arsenal or in units. But then there is development [razrabotka] work being conducted at the same time in our country and in Britain and the United States to create new types of conventional weapons which are much more lethal. Unfortunately, our proposals on stopping this qualitative arms race are not being accepted by the West, including Thatcher. So here Mikhail Sergeyevich faces a very, very difficult series of conversations on precisely this theme with Thatcher.

[Shishlin] Particularly because the position of the British prime minister is as follows: She generally considers Britain's independent nuclear weapons to be the guarantee of Britain's national sovereignty....

[Levin] A guarantee of peace....

[Shishlin] A guarantee of national independence, a guarantee of security in Europe. But nobody considers that tomorrow you can implement a program of denuclearization of Europe, of freeing it of nuclear arms. But it is necessary to think about what there will be in 5 or 10 years. If we are to proceed along the road which Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich has just described, a road which really does represent an organic element of the program of the British Conservatives; that is, modernization of contemporary conventional armaments, modernization of tactical nuclear weapons—then indeed it will happen, in such an event, that the foundation of that building of European peace will turn out to be old, and it will be simply impossible to erect a new building of European peace on the old foundation. Real reconstruction of the entire building is required.

[Levin] I have the impression that voices are also to be heard in Britain calling on the prime minister to adopt a more considered stance. I can quote THE OBSERVER newspaper, which predicts that there will be a keen debate on the problem of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons. Moreover, this newspaper believes that it will hardly be possible to make Thatcher change her mind. But the same THE OBSERVER, continuing its thought, writes, and I quote: If she, that is the prime minister, Thatcher, is too inflexible, she risks confirming the point of view that the Russians are playing the role of peacemaker while she herself is in the role of the cold war supporter. End of the quote from THE OBSERVER.

[Shishlin] But there are other problems there too....

[Bovin, interrupting] But this does not inhibit her much, I must say. She is such a tough woman, a leader indeed. Quotes of this kind do not inhibit her much. Indeed, she has been called the Iron Lady there, and things of that sort, but she goes her own way. One may not agree with the policies, but one cannot but pay tribute to her firmness as a politician, as it were.

[Shishlin] But then the range of topics for discussion will not end with problems relating to limiting and curtailing the arms race, although I think that here, too, it is possible to find some points of contact in our positions, even though they are far apart. But if we take ecological problems, ecological problems, for instance, a broad international congress on these problems has just been held in Britain.

[Levin, interrupting] On the ozone layer.

[Shishlin, interrupting] On the ozone layer among other things, and the ideas that were voiced at this congress—our representatives were there incidentally—these ideas can most certainly be regarded as working ideas for cooperation, practical cooperation. And the range of topics, I want to note, for discussion and for embarking on cooperation between Great Britain and the Soviet Union is sufficiently broad, so one can expect that this visit will be of fundamental significance in terms of the development of Soviet-British relations. It will have fundamental significance for the work that is being conducted in Europe within the framework of deepening the Helsinki process, and it will undoubtedly also have considerable significance on the most global, international scale, since without Soviet- British cooperation, it is difficult to count on new major decisions being reached as far as a radical improvement in international relations is concerned.

[Bovin] There is another specific circumstance here. The point is that NATO is 40 years old this year....

[Levin, interrupting] On 4 April.

[Bovin] Yes, and there will be a NATO session in May in connection with this, not only for the anniversary but also for the adoption of certain important conceptual matters, relating both to disarmament and to NATO's role in world politics generally. Therefore, on the eve of these events, the talks that Mikhail Sergeyevich will be having in London, in particular, will be of importance for this factor in world politics as well.

[Levin] It has turned out in today's program that we have been talking on the whole about what will be happening and what we can expect from what is to come next week. Nonetheless, there were very important and weighty events this week, too, and first and foremost probably we ought to return once again to the situation in Afghanistan, where right now one can already say most definitely that Pakistan is pouring oil on the fire of the conflict. It is being assisted in this by the United States, but the governmental troops, the troops of the government of the Republic of Afghanistan, have proved to be much more battleworthy than many experts even had assumed. The Republic of Afghanistan is demonstrating to date a firmness that few had expected.

[Bovin] One ought to say that we are helping Afghanistan in this difficult situation. An air lift to Kabul has been set up. Despite all the difficulties—and all the difficulties are of a military nature because a war is going on there—planes fly there regularly delivering cargo for the population primarily. Vehicles travel along the Salang, though the situation there is very difficult too, but the vehicles are moving to deliver cargo once again. One has to say, however, that the mujahidin have reached deadlock for the time being, though I don't know what will happen next. They made such a stir about how they were going to take Jalalabad the next day and Qandahar. They caused such a stir, but as yet there has been nothing. To somehow justify themselves stories like this are appearing frequently now. I have read that according to reports from the mujahidin there are, they allege, one or even two squadron of Indian pilots and Indian planes in Mazar-e Sharif now, and it is the Indian pilots and the Indian planes that are inflicting blows on the mujahidin positions now, which, it seems to me, is a patent (?product) of the imagination of these people. Of course the situation is very difficult there and let us proceed from this premise.

[Shishlin] In this instance, too, it really is possible and necessary nonetheless to resolve the Afghan equation per se by involving international forces, namely the United Nations, but this depends primarily on intra-Afghan forces nonetheless.

[Bovin] Of course.

[Shishlin] Afghan affairs should be resolved by the Afghans.

[Bovin] If one looks at another event of this week of great interest in my view it is the fact that essentially the Ayatollah Khomeyni has forced his rightful successor Ayatollah Montazeri to resign. He was [changes thought] there is an assembly of experts there, as is known, which is made up of about 80 theologians who appoint a successor to the ayatollah. It appointed Montazeri several years ago. When the Iran-Iraq war ended and the 10th anniversary of the Iranian revolution was being celebrated Montazeri made a number of speeches which were very interesting, by the way, and very bold, in which he said we have made very many mistakes, and if we continue to run things as we have we will come to a dead end.

He called for a reassessment, a reinterpretation of the history of the revolution there and the history of the Iran-Iraq war, which obviously displeased a certain circle of people around Khomeyni. Khomeyni replied to this at first with a number of speeches of this kind: You will not confuse me, just as I have been against communism and capitalism, and against the East and West, I will remain on this path. I reject any kind of liberal foreign policy. Incidentally, the situation around the novel "The Satanic Verses" helped Khomeyni a great deal in this respect. This ended, as far as I understand, officially with them forcing Montazeri to resign. Now this assembly of experts will have to appoint either an individual successor again, or there is also the option of a group or collective leadership of three to five people who will be the locum tenentes after Khomeyni goes.

This is the kind of situation that shows that in recent months a rather keen struggle has been going on in the Iranian leadership for influence, the leadership of the country, and the choice of policy and evidently this struggle will not die away, I think, but will increase with time.

[Levin] But for the time being we can conclude, as far as I can see, that the line toward the continuation of the fundamentalist (?course) is gaining the upper hand.

[Bovin] Yes, yes. For the time being. This is Khomeyni's line generally.

[Levin] Another event that deserves special attention is the fact that implementation of the UN plan for the decolonization of Namibia began yesterday. The realization of this plan has now become possible primarily as a result of the heroic struggle of the Namibian people led by the South-West Africa People's Organization, SWAPO, for the freedom of its country against the RSA [Republic of South Africa] colonizers, and the changes in southern Africa that have emerged as a result of the agreement between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA, an agreement that was reached with active assistance from the USSR and the United States. Right now in practical terms it is a question primarily of ensuring that all the parties that have taken on commitments on the basis of this agreement and the plans to decolonize Namibia strictly observe these commitments. This concerns first and foremost the position that Pretoria will adopt, of course. I think we have good grounds for saying that the international community expects from the RSA no less responsibility and no less strict and complete fulfillment of the accords than from the other parties involved. This is a real test of how serious Pretoria's intentions are and whether its policies can be trusted. Of course, it is impossible to cover all the events in the world and our time has come to an end. Thank you esteemed comrades for your attention. All the best to you.

* NATO Colloquium on Soviet Economic Reforms

18070576 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 13, 29 Mar 89 p 9

[Article by K. Privalov: "Glasnost Confined, or How Perestroyka is Being Discussed Within NATO"]

[Text] "The assertion that perestroyka is limited only by the economy is good advice for anyone who wants to be mistaken in his assessment of events in the USSR. One should not follow the rumors about an internal struggle within the Politburo." "Perestroyka: evolution or revolution? Can this process be completed successfully without the support and help of the West?"

Questions, declarations, hypotheses about the fate of perestroyka.... They have lost the power to startle us, the Soviet people, in their sharpness, even morbidity, and sometimes even in their complete naivete. To tell the truth, we became accustomed to them recently thanks to newspapers, magazines and television. Is there anything surprising in the fact that historians, lawyers and sociologists gather to discuss the problems associated with perestroyka in the USSR? The usual thing. With the exception, perhaps, that the colloquium, with excerpts from speeches quoted above, took place in the Joseph Lunts Conference Hall at NATO Headquarters in Evere, on the outskirts of Brussels, on the eve of the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty.

"The USSR Economic Reforms: Turning them into Life" colloquium was organized by the NATO directorate of economic problems," says Jean-Claud [Reno], head of the directorate of economic problems. "The goal which we have set for ourselves is to help the governments of the member-nations of NATO more precisely determine their attitude toward the processes of change in the USSR. In the opinion of the majority of participants in our meeting, perestroyka has already enjoyed considerable success. The struggle for democracy is in progress.

"Within this context, what can the position of the West be? At our colloquium, this question was answered one way or another not only by leading western Sovietologists, but by businessmen and specialists in the fields of international relations and international trade. Incidentally, you will learn more about all of this in detail from the press dossier. I will just say that next year we will try to organize a new colloquium with even more participants; next time it will be about Soviet problems beyond economics."

And, it is true, names of the participants and the breadth of the themes which they covered were impressive. The Dutchman Mikael Ellman spoke on the consequences of economic reforms in the USSR. The Italian Rentso Daviddi, on the prospects of the convertible ruble. The American Gregory Grossman, on the opportunities for private and cooperative initiatives in the Soviet Union. The Frenchman Serge Raslovleff on the future of USSR joint ventures. The American Russell Boyva on the attitude of the Soviet military leadership toward perestroyka. You cannot enumerate them all. But one thing is absolutely clear: If you believe the summary of lectures, the orators did not consider the Soviet Union anathema, which previously happened within the walls of NATO headquarters, but considered the specifics of Soviet policy, bringing into the awareness of the NATO public the fundamental aspects of perestroyka, calling for their joint discussion. The atmosphere was constructive. It was a pity that there was no opportunity to meet with the participants after their speeches, to ask them questions and to hear their views on the latest news from the USSR. The accepted order in NATO is that journalists from non-NATO countries do not have the right to participate in the undertakings in Evere, behind an imposing fence. What are these rules called? The norms of vigilance and security, or the holdovers of mistrust and hostility? All the worse that the themes of the debates—perestroyka and glasnost—would seem to call for ridding ourselves of the preconceptions and reservations of the past as quickly as possible.

"What military secrets could be spoken of in this hall! Look, the lion's share of the information aired at the colloquium on the changes in your country were taken from the Soviet press. There probably is sense in inviting Soviet specialists to our next colloquium on perestroyka in the USSR," states Jean-Claud [Reno]. "But how that will be practical, I admit, I do not know. What do you want? Perestroyka is a complex, long-term process not only for you."

Commentary on NATO's 40th Anniversary

LD0404031189 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] We begin with a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov of our staff on the 40th anniversary of NATO:

[Kozyakov] Speeches made on the occasion contained widely (?divergent) ideas. For instance, NATO's secretary general Manfred Woerner said that the unilateral Soviet troop cuts and the constructive proposals made by this country at Vienna give grounds for hope. There is a unique opportunity for NATO to restructure its relations with the East with a view to making the Soviet Union a partner rather than an adversary. One feels compelled to share that point of view.

Are there any grounds for euphoria over the jubilee? The government in Bonn called for awarding the Nobel peace prize to NATO. But the formation of NATO did split Europe. Soon after the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty the Soviet Union advanced a proposal that it also join the organization but no one would every hear of it then. After the formation of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, as a response in 1955, all proposals for the simultaneous dissolution of the two alliances were rejected out of hand. If there had been no NATO there would have been no Warsaw Treaty Organization. There would have been no military standoff and the present stockpiles of weaponry in Europe.

This should not be taken to mean that the Soviet Union blames only the West for the arms race. Our own actions in the past were very often grist to the mill (?of) those who spoke of the danger posed by the East. But Moscow and the Warsaw Treaty nations have amended their policy. They abandoned the dogmas of the past and adopted a new defense doctrine as part of the new political thinking. The mistrust that accumulated for years will not go away overnight, though. Some of the jubilee statements bear the imprint of the past.

Speaking in a televised interview, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe once again spoke of the huge bear threatening the West. He meant not only Soviet tanks but also the Soviet initiatives, which he described as deception. The former U.S. secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, who appeared in the same program, claimed that the Soviet Union is out to disarm Western Europe. But the Vienna talks are aimed, after all, at achieving bilateral disarmament and not a unilateral disarmament of the West.

Speaking in Ireland on Sunday, Mikhail Gorbachev again appealed to the West to rely on the realities of the day in relations with the East in order to amplify the positive aspects of those relations and curtail military confrontation in negative trends. Let us hope that this appeal will be heeded.

Wrangle Over Danube Diesel Ship Continues

PM0404094389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Vasilyev report: "Unusual Voyage. The Odyssey of the Diesel Ship 'Petersberg' Continues"]

[Text] Odessa—Captain A. Abushov gave the order: Slow ahead!

The tugboat "Bogatyr" hooted and shuddered. A hawser, taut as a bowstring, strained above the water.

Slow ahead! came the response from the dry-cargo ship "Petersberg".

The water churned under the screws. The two-ship convoy carefully began to move toward deep water.

The operation to remove the West German freighter from the shoals ended uncommonly successfully and rapidly. But the crew of the "imprisoned vessel" did not radiate joy at this. The seamen knew that the vessel would once again have to suffer the fate of an exile. The vessel did indeed set course astern. On leaving USSR territorial waters, it dropped anchor in the region of Zmeinyy island in the very place from where it had attempted to approach the port of Ust-Dunaysk.

...The countries of the Danube and Black Sea basins have watched the diesel ship's strange meanderings for almost 1 year now. Everyone has watched, but only the Soviet Union has hitherto offered concrete assistance. When the ship's diesel generator became unserviceable, Danube Steamship Company electrical engineers came aboard and eliminated the fault. The Izmail Main Maritime Agency for Servicing Foreign Ships in Soviet Ports delivered water, food, and fuel to the "Petersberg" on several occasions. The "outcast" was recently given permission to move in a little closer to the port to take on supplies. Either arrogance (the captain refused a pilot) or the passionate desire to feel dry land under foot quickly brought the crew further ordeals. The trouble is behind them now. But the "Petersberg's" removal from the shoals is still not the end of a long story.

The West German diesel ship, chartered by an Austrian chemical enterprise, let us recall, traveled down the Danube last May. In its hold it was carrying 1,200 tonnes of dangerous industrial waste to Turkey, which local entrepreneurs had contracted to accept and bury near the Bosphorus. The "Greens" learnt of this deal. The alarm was raised from the Bosphorus to Ankara: "The 'Petersburg' is carrying radioactive cargo." The public demanded that the authorities "prevent" the "garbage carrier" from entering the strait. Denied passage, the "Petersberg" was forced to turn tail.

While the sides were clarifying the situation, the ship languished in the neutral waters of the Black Sea. No, the "wanderer" was not destined to moor on the Turkish shore. Reports appeared in the press revealing the full details of the operation. According to the newspapers, the owner of a Vienna chemicals plant and a Turkish serviceman had planned the operation. The latter for a large fee allegedly agreed to take the imported waste and bury it in a vacant lot allocated for the construction of an enterprise to produce transformers. The secret was revealed when, instead of foundations for a building, the zealous soldier set about digging out a deep pit on his "proving ground.".

Months went by. Vital supplies began to be exhausted on the "ghost ship." Grossyan [name as transliterated], the ship's captain, decided to deliver the cargo described in the manifest as "inert industrial gravel" to its owner. He made a dash for the Danube mouth, but never made it. Ecologists from a number of the littoral countries sounded the alarm, saying that the ship was radioactive and posed a danger to the environment and that borders could not be opened to it. The "Petersberg" returned to its former position, which, as I said earlier, was in neutral waters near the Soviet island of Zmeinyy.

But the ship's behavior naturally could not escape the attention of the Soviet border guards and inspectors from the State Committee for Environmental Control and Protection of Water. Having received authorization from the appropriate authorities and permision from the crew, our specialists boarded the vessel and examined the cargo. The hold contained earth, sand, gravel, and brick fragments. The inspectors had never before encountered such "gifts" on a "river-sea" vessel. Whose idea was it to send a ship on such a long voyage carrying what was obviously just waste?

Captain Gunther Grossyan has stated that he knew nothing about the purpose of the "export." We took samples of the garbage for examination. Analysis carried out at three research institutes in Kiev showed that the cargo was not radioactive but did contain harmful tin, zinc, and other compounds. Apparently the analysis was no comfort to anyone. Our authorities have now demanded that the ship go home.

Sadly, it appears that no one wants the "Petersberg" back home. The Austrian public, having heard so much about the ship's being radioactive, has been refusing to take it back. The waste products are finally being studied in Vienna itself. A report from the ministry for environmental protection reads as follows: "There are 700 tonnes of paint and varnish production waste products on board the 'Petersberg.' They contain harmful substances, but within tolerable limits. Some 450 tonnes of the waste consists of soil impregnated with spent machine oil and 40 tonnes is mixed solids. No signs of radioactivity have been detected." The document has been published. Minister Marilies FLemming and Vienna Mayor Helmut Zilk have agreed to take their "property" back.

So the crew now has some hope of returning home after its long voyage. But it is only a hope. Over the winter the level of the Danube has fallen by almost 1 meter, and the ship has to wait for the spring floods to go upriver otherwise it could run aground on a sandbank again, as happened before. Our steamship company is prepared to provide barges and help transfer the waste onto them. But Romania is objecting to such a convoy's traveling up the Danube. A new round of explanations has begun.

"We must be sensible," V. Pilipenko, chief of the Black Sea Maritime Steamship Company, said in a conversation with a PRAVDA correspondent. "It is not only a matter of the ill-starred garbage. There is a crew on board the 'Petersberg.' The men have spent almost a year at sea. They have grown homesick for their homes and families. Nervous strain is making itself felt. They could make their own decision about what to do with the ship and its cargo at any time. And then...

"Is the Black Sea—polluted as it is—the best graveyard for a cargo that really is not safe? The Danube countries need to reach a common agreement rapidly and give the exile the chance to return home as soon as possible."

It is hard to disagree with this opinion. The struggle for the ecology is an interstate concern.

...But for the present the "Petersberg" must pit its strength against the Black Sea squalls.

United States & Canada

Bush-Mubarak Talks, Mideast Conference Viewed

LD0404140689 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] President Bush has conferred with Egypt's President Mubarak in Washington to discuss ways to reach a settlement in the Middle East. He is to discuss the same problems with the Israeli prime minister, Yitzhaq Shamir, who is beginning his visit to the United States today. Aleksandr Pogodin comments:

Though upon conclusion of their talks the American and Egyptian presidents announced their almost totaly unanimity, their approaches to the Middle East problem remain, judging by their own statements, quite different. Egypt, for instance, believes that it's essential to take urgent steps to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. President Mubarak pointed to the constructive initiatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its acceptance of the relevant resolutions issued by the United Nations Security Council, recognition of Israel's right to exist, and condemnation of terrorism. According to Egypt, all this creates preconditions for convening an international conference on the Middle East.

It's harder to analyse the United States' stand since it is too controversial. On the one hand, President Bush seems to be in favor of convening the conference at a time when all conditions are created for it. On the other, he says that the conference should engage solely in preparing a series of bilateral talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors. According to him, such separate talks might pave the way for gaining peace in the Middle East.

Well, contradictions in the stand taken by the United States Administration are understandable. The United States has to reckon with the position of the Arab world, of course, and the Arab world is known to be in favor of holding a truly effective international conference designed to put an end to the explosive situation in the Middle East at last. It demands that the Palestinian people be allowed to exercise their right to statehood. The White House must also take into account the position of its NATO allies which insist on convening such a conference.

At the same time it's averse to spoiling its relations with Israel, its major strategic partner in the Middle East. As for Israel, it has no intention of deviating from its extremely tough stance, as Shamir said before his departure for the United States. It's explicitly against the conference, against an independent Palestinian state, against all contracts with the PLO. Its proposal to grant some limited autonomy to the Palestinians, subject to ending their uprising against the Israeli occupation at that, can hardly be viewed as a peace initiative. Washington has enough leverage to exert influence on the Israeli Government, of course, in order to induce it to revise its posture on the basis of realism, but is it willing to use this leverage?

Ryzhkov Meets U.S. Trade Consortium Leaders

PM3103113589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-American Meeting in the Kremlin"]

[Excerpts] On 30 March N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin the leaders of the American Trade Consortium (ATC), organized in the United States by a number of major companies to develop trade and economic ties with the USSR. The consortium delegation has arrived in Moscow to sign a general trade agreement with its partner—the Soviet Foreign Economic Consortium.

A conversation took place between N.I. Ryzhkov and the leaders of the ATC, during which topical issues concerning the state and prospects of trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States were discussed in a spirit of constructiveness and mutual understanding.

The sides expressed general satisfaction with the completion of an important stage in creating the contractual-legal basis for setting up a whole group of joint enterprises with the participation of such world famous American companies as Chevron, ADM, Eastman Kodak, Johnson and Johnson, Nabisco, and Mercator. Their partners are Soviet enterprises, ministries, and organizations incorporated in the Soviet foreign economic consortium. [passage omitted]

The following took part in the conversation: V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium and cochairman of USTEC [U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council]; A.A. Obukhov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's United States of America and Canada Department; and V.A. Drovosekov, chairman of the Soviet foreign economic consortium. The following took part on the American side: R.J. Carbonell [name as transliterated], chairman of the ATC Board of Directors; J.H. Giffen, president of the ATC; D.O. Andreas, cochairman of ASTEC; J.D. Bonney, first vice chairman of the Chevron Board of Directors; W.D. Dirstein [name as tansliterated], chairman of the Johnson and Johnson Group; J.P. Samper, vice chairman of the Eastman Kodak firm; R. Spooner, ATC representative in Moscow; and J.M. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

RSFSR's Vinogradov Receives Illinois Governor

PM0404154389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Conversation Took Place"]

[Text] F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, received J. Thompson, governor of Illinois (United States) 3 April, who is in Moscow with a group of representatives of political and business circles.

Questions of Soviet-U.S. relations and certain international problems were discussed in the course of a conversation held in a businesslike and unconstrained atmosphere.

The positive significance of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet delegation's visit to Illinois at the invitation of the state's legislative assembly was noted; this made it possible to establish business contacts promoting the development of mutual understanding.

The sides expressed a desire to further broaden various friendly ties in the economic, cultural, and other spheres between the state of Illinois and the RSFSR.

V.M. Vinogradov, RSFSR foreign minister, took part in the conversation.

U.S.-Soviet Electronic Mail Cooperation Begins

PM0404141589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Nevelskiy: "Electronic Mail"]

[Text] The agreement concluded by the USSR Ministry of Communications and the U.S. Postal Service has laid the foundation for a fundamentally new form of cooperation between the two countries' mail workers.

Thanks to this agreement, electronic mail between Moscow and 12 U.S. cities went into operation 1 April. The U.S. cities include Washington, New York, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, Denver, Miami... Now anyone who enters the operations room of the Moscow international post office on Warsaw highway where the communal use center has opened will be able to send a letter or any document—chart, blueprint, drawing, or photograph—to the United States. The documents will be delivered to the addressee in an incredibly short time—the same day or the next day.

The unique speed of the electronic mailman is explained simply: The written communication or graphic depiction is relayed on international telephone channels using telefax. The speed of its operation is such that the transmission of a special form the size of a typescript page lasts no more than a minute while the entire process of processing correspondence on both sides of the ocean takes only a few hours. You can imagine how important this rapid exchange of information is in our day for businessmen representing joint ventures and various organizations and departments. How can we fail to remember here the well-known saying "time is money?"

The laboratory collective is now engaged in another problem—ensuring the equally rapid transmission of information along communications channels within the country. The first zone of operation of the electronic mailman includes six cities—Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Frunze, Kiev, and Minsk. The accelerated exchange of information between them will become possible as early as May. In a few years electronic mail centers will appear in many regions of the USSR.

But in the meantime anyone who needs to send a letter or other communication to America urgently should rush to Warsaw highway. If you are interested in any details about the operation conditions of the international electronic mailman, take down the following Moscow telephone numbers for inquiries: 114-46-15 or 117-00-40.

Northeast Asia

Soviet Trade Mission Opens in Seoul

PM0404140989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondent S. Agafonov: "South Korea: USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry Mission Opens"]

[Text] Seoul—A ceremony to open the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry mission in South Korea was held 3 April in the function room of the Sheraton Hotel.

There were speeches and words of greeting, both sides expressed hopes for the fruitful development of mutually beneficial trade and economic links, optimism was expressed concerning their prospects, and emphasis was placed on the contribution they will make to improving the overall international climate and stabilizing the situation in the Korean peninsula. Henceforth, Soviet people will live and work in Seoul as our official representatives, and dialogue on economic matters will be conducted through intermediaries and directly.

The ceremony was as representative as could be, bringing together more than 300 guests, constituting the cream of local business and financial circles, media, and politicians. But I would like to digress from the protocol aspect to say a little about the general situation.

First of all, in South Korea at the moment there is a kind of boom in information about the Soviet Union. Every day there are several items about our country in the newspapers; Seoul Television is commenting on the results of the recent Supreme Soviet elections; literature on Soviet topics is selling like hotcakes in bookstores;

and M.S. Gorbachev's book "Restructuring and New Thinking" occupies a prominent place in the office of Pak Chun-kyu, chairman of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, who was particularly interested in meeting with an IZVESTIYA correspondent.

Despite the recent estrangement and the lack of any official contacts between our countries, South Korea has studied the Soviet Union thoroughly for a long time and is not only fully-informed about our main economic and political changes, but is also extremely well-informed about our domestic market. Suffice it to say that the first analyses of potential participation by South Korean firms in the development of Siberia and the Far East appeared here... 10 years ago, when one would have thought it absurd even to think about it. Moreover, they were scrupulous analyses, with all the requisite calculations.

For example, the Hyundai Corporation, I was told by Kim Tae-u, one of the company's executive directors, had even devised a plan for recruiting manpower from third countries for projects in the Soviet Far East and studies had been made on a system for training personnel, and so on.

I had a rather interesting conversation with the president of Jindo—one of the world's leading leather and fur companies. Mr Kim Yong-to had just returned from a business trip to the USSR, and he talked enthusiastically about his plans for the Soviet market, which include setting up joint ventures, opening 10 Jindo stores in the USSR, and building a hotel and a chain of Korean restaurants.

The enthusiasm shown by the Jindo president and other local business representatives is by no means boundless, and, for all its disarming sincerity, is not without caution when it comes to prognoses and action. Before taking a commercial risk it is necessary to carry out meticulous checks and weigh up all the pros and cons. What do they point to above all? To the insufficient clarity of our legislative documents, the as yet uncertain investment guarantees, the difficulties involved in financial deals using the ruble, and the overly intricate foreign trade management structure in the USSR, which, according to local business circles, is too cumbersome.

There is certainly interest in cooperation and a desire to develop trade and economic "dialogue" with us, and this is a very significant factor, but, at the same time, according to the calculations of Hyundai, Daewoo, and other corporations, one can realistically expect a return on the Soviet-South Korean partnership in 5 years at best, although the trade growth dynamics will increase sharply, according to local experts, and the volume of trade will reach $2 billion as early as 1991.

This is the way the South Korean side sees it. But what did our delegation bring to Seoul? I put the question to Chamber of Trade and Industry Presidium Chairman V.L. Malkevich.

"First of all," he said, "I would stress the fact that today the Asia-Pacific region produces more than one-half of the combined world GNP, and over 40 percent of world trade takes place there. No wonder the next century is often called the 'Pacific Era.' The Korean peninsula is an important part of that region, and Soviet and South Korean business circles' interest in one another is increasing all the time.

"There are objective reasons for this, including geographical proximity and the structural and technological complementarity of our economic complexes. Indeed, it is no accident that despite the lack of direct trade and economic relations our mutual trade through intermediaries amounted to an estimated $200 million in 1987 and $153 million in the first 8 months of 1988.

"The desire of both sides to arrange business, tourist, and cultural exchanges is natural and understandable. And a number of important steps have been taken in this sphere in recent months. Last December an agreement was signed on cooperation between the Chamber of Trade and Industry and the Korean Trade Promotion Corporation, preparations are being made for a trip to Moscow by a Korean Industrialists Federation delegation, a Soviet-South Korean council for economic cooperation is soon to be set up, and the USSR's first exhibition of South Korean goods is planned for July, to coincide with the official opening of the Korean Trade Promotion Corporation mission in Moscow. Our common task is to make bilateral ties long-term and forward-looking."

...Where does one start? This is the question faced by our "team" in Seoul. The head of the Chamber of Trade and Industry mission in Seoul, V. Nazarov, was obviously not in the mood for reporters' questions, but he made an exception for IZVESTIYA.

"Essentially," he said, "we now have a unique opportunity to create a qualitatively different model of foreign economic ties, because we are starting effectively from scratch and it all depends on us. I would describe the main task as follows: It is necessary to get away from the old trade and economic contacts scheme based on raw materials, switching to cooperation in the sphere of joint development of advanced ideas and technology, which we have aplenty in our country, but only on paper, alas. Another area is the structure of economic relations, which must be focused not at the departmental level, but at the level of enterprises and firms."

Head of New Trade Mission in Seoul Interviewed

LD0304194289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] The USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry opened an office in Seoul today. It will be headed by

Nazarov, chief adviser to the Chamber of Trade and Industry Presidium. Before departing for Seoul, he was interviewed by our correspondent.

[Begin Nazarov recording] The practical work to establish trade and economic ties between the Soviet Union and South Korea began following the well-known speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk. On 1 December last year an agreement on cooperation was concluded between the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and its South Korean counterpart, KOTRA, the Korean Trade Promotion Corporation. This agreement, in particular, provides for the opening of offices of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and KOTRA, in Seoul and Moscow respectively. We think that the Soviet Union and South Korea have good opportunities for the establishment of trade and economic cooperation on a broad scale. This is brought about in particular by the complementarity of our economies, and also by the fact that interest is evident on both sides in developing trade and economic ties.

First and foremost, in developing this cooperation we would like to achieve aims such as, in particular, assistance, through the capabilities of the South Korean side, for the development of our Far Eastern and adjacent regions of Siberia. There are very good possibilities for us in this. A second important area of this cooperation could be the chemicals and timber complex. We are ready for wide-scale cooperation in the sphere of machine-building and the electronics industry. Our office in Seoul will be taking a firm line of establishing the broadest of contacts with representatives of South Korean business circles, and will strive for them to learn more about the Soviet market and its opportunities. [end recording]

TASS, KYODO Sign Cooperation Agreement
LD0404110289 Moscow TASS in English 1055 GMT 4 Apr

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—An information agreement between the news agency of the Soviet Union and the Japanese news agency KYODO Tsushin was signed in Moscow on Tuesday. The agreement envisages further development of professional cooperation between the two news agencies.

The agreement was signed by Tass General Director Leonid Kravchenko and KYODO Tsushin Managing Director and Editor-in-Chief Yasuhiko Inukai.

Japan-USSR Friendship Group Meets in Tokyo
OW0504053489 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] The Japanese-Soviet Friendship Association held its 25th general meeting in Tokyo on 31 March. The Japanese-Soviet Friendship Association is one of the largest, active organizations aimed at developing friendship and good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. Those attending the meeting unanimously expressed the view that expanding exchanges between the Soviet and Japanese people is indispensable for guaranteeing peaceful coexistence and stability in Asia.

Among those attending the general meeting were delegates of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. They signed a plan for friendship and cooperation that calls for holding various events, including exchanges of delegations, a cultural festival, exhibitions, and symposia.

Harriers Deployed by U.S. Forces in Japan
OW0304062689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 2 Apr 89

[Text] According to a report from Tokyo by TASS Correspondent Agafonov, the headquarters of the U.S. Forces Japan [USFJ] has announced plans to deploy the latest model Harrier fighters at the U.S. military base in Iwakuni, Yamaguchi Prefecture.

Iwakuni Base is located at the southernmost tip of Honshu Island in Japan. It is one of the largest bases of military air power held by the U.S. Department of Defense. The new fighters will fly to the base this summer and be incorporated into the U.S. Marine Corps [USMC] air division based in Japan.

The purpose of deploying this latest model fighter, which has vertical takeoff and landing capability, at the U.S. military base in Iwakuni is to strengthen the combat power of the USMC stationed in Okinawa. According to local papers, the construction of a reserve air pad for the Harrier fighters is underway in Okinawa. Progressive forces in Japan are struggling against the deployment of Harrier fighters in Japanese territory. However, as far as the news releases of the USFJ headquarters are concerned, such actions are being ignored.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev, Lao Counterpart Discuss Cambodia
LD0304141189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1257 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 April (TASS)—Consultations have been held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 30 March to 3 April with Soulivong Phasitthidet, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. He had conversations with Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, as well as at the administrations of the Socialist Countries of Europe, the Socialist Countries of Asia, and other subdivisions of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

A wide range of international and regional problems and the state of and outlook for bilateral relations were discussed. The great significance of positive changes in the development of the situation, the turn away from confrontation to dialogue, and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region was noted. The view was voiced that it is possible to guarantee a solution to the problems that exist in Southeast Asia only by political means and through negotiations. In this context, both sides noted the importance and significance of further developing the process of a Cambodian settlement.

SRV Minister Urges U.S. Not To Help Sihanouk

PM0404170189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

["Own information" report: "Interview Published"]

[Text] THE NEW YORK TIMES has published an interview with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach. He said: If the United States gives new financing and arms to Prince Sihanouk, that will be very bad. However, it cannot help Sihanouk now. Even 4 or 5 years ago, that kind of aid could not produce results. In 1981 he predicted that if he were to cooperate with Pol Pot, that would be tantamount to political suicide. Now, weapons cannot help or save him by freeing him from this alliance. Whether people like it or not, the minister noted, the Phnom Penh government has achieved relatively great political, military, and economic stability and can rely on its own forces. At the same time, Prince Sihanouk and his allies are waiting for help which, they hope, will be forthcoming as a result of the meeting between the Soviet and Chinese leaders in the middle of May, because they know that they do not have the forces.

Touching on the subject of his upcoming visit to Moscow, the SRV foreign minister noted that his visit will be made in his capacity as chairman of the permanent Soviet-Vietnamese Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation and that it has nothing to do with the meeting between the Chinese and Soviet leaders.

The minister said that Vietnam prefers an all-embracing political settlement that will allow Hanoi to withdraw the whole of its remaining military contingent from Cambodia by the end of September this year.

USSR Seeks Expanded Fishing Rights in Pacific

LD0404154889 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 4 Apr 89 p 12

[Geoffrey Lee Martin dispatch: "Russians Seek To Expand Pacific Fishing Rights"]

[Text] Sydney—The Soviet Union has begun negotiations to expand its fishing rights with South Pacific island nations at a time when those countries are growing increasingly exasperated at the Japanese Government's unwillingness to negotiate a multilateral fisheries treaty.

It is understood the Russians are prepared to offer a higher fishing fee than Japan's standard four percent of landed catch.

They are also eager to discuss joint ventures with local fishing industries as well as landing rights and rest and recreation for the fleet.

This week Dr Yevgeniy Samoteykin, the Soviet ambassador to Australia, is in Honiara, the capital of the Solomon Islands, for preliminary talks with the South Pacific Forum's regional fisheries body, the Forum Fisheries Agency.

He has told the agency that the Soviet Union is particularly interested in getting access to the triangle to the east of Australia, between Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and the Solomons, which is rich in top-quality tuna.

An official Soviet delegation is to visit the agency's headquarters in Honiara later this year, probably before the South Pacific forum meeting in Kiribati in July.

It will include officials from the Soviet Fisheries Ministry as well as from the fishing fleet base at Vladivostok.

The Russians are in the process of renegotiating their 900,000 pound agreement with Vanuatu which expired last year. They are also close to finalising a new fishing treaty with Australia.

Papua New Guinea cancelled its own agreement with Japan last year when the Japanese refused to renegotiate the fee and has shown interest in the Soviet proposal.

The South Pacific Forum countries are angry with Tokyo for its reluctance to discuss a multinational treaty similar to that negotiated with the United States 18 months ago.

There is also considerable concern, as well as ill-feeling, directed at Japanese fishing fleets which, along with Korean and Taiwanese boats, are using huge fishing nets up to 30 miles long to sweep vast areas of the Pacific in their search for tuna.

A joint statement issued by Samoteykin and the fisheries agency at the weekend said: "The Soviet Union wishes to develop wider cooperation of a long-term nature with Pacific island states.

"The proposed mission would be to explore areas of cooperation in the development of commercial fishing, as well as scientific matters between Pacific island nations and the Soviet Union."

Mr Philip Muller, the agency's director, said the agency was always open to negotiations. He added: "What the Soviets are proposing at this point appears genuine."

Near East & South Asia

Bessmertnykh Meets With Afghanistan's Wakil

LD0404195889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Comrade Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, had a conversation today with Wakil, foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, who is in Moscow on his way to New York from Kabul. An exchange of views was held on the situation in Afghanistan, especially in connection with the increasing external interference in its internal affairs, and on a number of other issues of mutual interest.

Kabul, Faryab City Shelled; Kabul Highway Open

LD0404165489 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Kabul April 4 TASS—Residential areas of the Afghan capital were brought under strong missile fire on Tuesday. Six people were killed and 24 wounded, including women and children.

A briefing for foreign journalists was held at the Afghan Foreign Ministry. Informing them of the military-political situation in the country, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Afghan Army units had rendered harmless an extremist group in the district of Makwan, Qandahar Province. Some 20 rebels had been killed and 18 wounded in the course of the operation. Thirty rebels were killed in the northern province of Sar-e Pol.

The Kabul-Jalalabad highway remains open for automobile traffic. A truck column carrying food and other essentials for Jalalabad residents came there from Kabul on Monday.

According to an Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman, from March 30 to April 2 the "irreconcilable" opposition forces intensively shelled the city of Meymaneh, Faryab Province. Three civilians were killed, including a child.

Afghan Defense Council's Operations Viewed

PM0404132189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent V. Snegirev dispatch: "Relatively Calm Situation in Kabul"]

[Text] Kabul, 29 Mar—This vast quarter with its park and numerous stone buildings in the center of Kabul is surrounded by high fortified walls and guarded by elite guards.

The Afghan Higher Defense Council is located here. PRAVDA's correspondent was authorized to view the work of the Higher Defense Council's night duty officers appointed from the republic's leaders. Three men are on guard today: M. Rafi', member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee Politburo; F. Mazdak, candidate member of the Politburo; and General Baki, chief of the president's Defense Directorate. These duty stints were initiated following the declaration of a state of emergency in the country.

Assembly at 1900 hours. The royal dining room was at one time located in the vast oak-paneled hall with its fireplace. Now fittings that are not at all in keeping with the former monarch's comfortable lifestyle have been added to the luxurious interior. On one wall there is a large map of the country bearing plotted information on the up-to-the-minute situation; underneath there is a long line of different telephones; in the corner, a military-style cot.

General Baki limps badly—the result of a wound sustained near Qandahar 8 years ago. But he is energetic and full of optimism.

"Do you want to get in touch with any city? There's nothing simpler!"

To be frank, these words came as something of a surprise to me. I know what problems they have had with communications here. I asked if it was possible to be put through to Gardeyz, Herat, and Jalalabad.

"Of course, Comrade Journalist." The general smilingly handed me the telephone a minute later. "City of Gardeyz. General Janbas, [name as published] commander of the III Corps. He speaks Russian well."

Gardeyz is the center of the mountain province of Paktia, where primarily Pushtuns live. The area is tense and adjoins the Pakistani border. After the traditional exchange of cordial greetings and good wishes, I asked the general to talk about the situation.

"We have full control of a zone 25 km in radius from the provincial center," he said. "The rebels are mainly making life difficult by shelling with heavy guns and 'rocket projectiles.' Some 170 people—peasants, storekeepers, and nomads—have died in the last 10 months as a result of these bombardments. Two weeks ago 700 rebels from Jalaluddin's [name as published] gang received the order to leave our area with their artillery and transfer to Jalalabad via Pakistan to take part in the assault on this city."

[Correspondent] "Tell me about the food situation. Isn't the city under threat?"

[Janbas] "No. There should be enough food. Incidentally, there's now a very great deal of snow in the mountains. That is a source of great joy to the peasants; they're expecting a good harvest."

[Correspondent] "What is new in the actions of the opposition forces?"

[Janbas] "Three in seven men are malisha—members of Pakistani tribal formations. One foreign adviser is usually attached to detachments of 30-40 men. One other thing that wasn't previously the case: Armed Arab Wahhabi's have appeared in Ahmad Kheyl District. They are members of a sect from Saudi Arabia who are trying to forcibly foist their beliefs on the local population."

...On the approaches to Herat, the center of Afghanistan's western Herat Province. General Daud, commander of the V Corps, said that the situation in the city is fully under the control of the people's power. There is fighting in two districts; moreover, there are frequent clashes between hostile groupings from various "Islamic parties." In response to my question as to the whereabouts of Turan Ismail [name as transliterated], the leader of this region's armed detachments, the general said he is obviously in hiding about 50km from the city. The markets are operating normally in Herat, the corps commander said, and the mosque that was recently damaged by a bandit shell is being restored.

"I have been here 2 years and 3 months," my far-off interlocutor said, "but never before has life been as calm as it is now."

"That's true," the night duty officers confirmed when I put down the receiver after the conversation. "In many respects the stable situation is attributable to sensible actions on the part of the governor of Charikar Province. He is not a party member; he is a native of this area, quite a rich and influential man. His appointment and work are the real incarnation of the national reconciliation policy."

...I began the next conversation nervously. At the other end of the line was Jalalabad, General Fazil Ahmad, commander of the I Corps. It seemed to be a complete surprise to him to be talking to a Soviet journalist. I asked him where he was now.

"In headquarters on the frontline to the east of the airport. Headquarters is located in a rundown hut. There is now a short lull between the fighting, but usually everything here reels from the explosions. Reconnaissance shows that after being repulsed yet again, the rebels are now regrouping and building up forces."

...It is late now. I must go home before the curfew. Tomorrow the guards will report on the situation in the country at 0800 hours at a conference with the Afghan president. On the basis of their report, the Higher Defense Council will adopt the appropriate decisions. On parting, F. Mazdak acquainted me with recent reports. I wrote the following in my notebook:

"Ahmad Shah Mas'ud's detachments numbering up to 800 men are still hanging on to the two government outposts on the Salang Pass they seized previously. For that reason, communications between Hayratan and Kabul have temporarily been cut."

"Pilgrims from various Afghan provinces attended prayers at the Mazar-e-Sharif mosque, which is renowned in the East. A fatwa [Islamic ruling] from the country's religious figures signed by 100 of the most influential and prestigious clergymen was read out here. "We attest that there is now every opportunity to establish peace and a cease-fire," this address to Muslims said. The fatwa affirmed that those who continue the bloodshed are acting against religion and are blind agents of another's will. Citing the Koran, the fatwa urged all believers to defend the national honor and political independence of the motherland.

"Situation calm in Kabul."

However, I think the last report was cancelled this morning. Powerful explosions were heard outside and glass tinkled from the din. So it is probably more correct to say the situation is relatively calm.

Red Cross Official in Kabul Discusses POW's

PM0304103189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Special correspondent V. Snegirev dispatch: "Afghanistan: Planning Provocation: On the Fate of Soviet Prisoners of War"]

[Text] Kabul, 30 Mar—At a routine briefing at the Afghan Foreign Ministry, journalists were given the following report based on information provided by competent organs in the republic. The Y. Khalis rebels (the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan") are planning to take several of our prisoners of war from Pakistan to the Jalalabad area. There they are to be dressed in the uniform of the Soviet Armed Forces, killed, and the bodies presented to journalists as "proof" that Soviet servicemen are taking part in combat operations on the Republic of Afghanistan's territory.

To be frank, it is hard to believe that people are capable of such things. But, sadly, they are. Recently they even fired on a convoy of vehicles carrying civilians from Jalalabad to Kabul. Fifty vehicles were burned and 100 people were taken into the mountains. There they were all killed indiscriminately—children, women, and old people. And a few days before that the wives of mujahidin soldiers who went to the Towr Kham border point to find out what had happened to their husbands came under fire there.

The rebels, enraged by their unsuccessful attempts to capture Jalalabad, where they suffered tremendous losses, are now rapidly thinking up excuses for their failures to save their reputation in the eyes of their foreign protectors. No one believed the lie that our military advisers are directing the government troops' defense. Now they want to use their prisoners to stage a provocation.

This news will clearly arouse fresh interest in the fate of our servicemen captured in Afghanistan. The word "interest," in this context, is plainly inappropriate. Concern, alarm, worry... Soviet troops returned home long ago. But several hundred officers and men (our officials cite the figure 311, but this is the number of those missing-in-action; the precise number of prisoners of war is unknown) continue to languish in the mujahidin torture chambers.

Work to secure their release is being conducted via several channels at the same time: This question is raised at all the talks conducted by the Foreign Ministry; and the International Red Cross Committee is dealing with the fate of the prisoners, as are a number of social organizations in the USSR and abroad. In our country the Coordinating Committee of the Soviet Public has been set up to secure the release of the servicemen captured in Afghanistan; there is an international committee at work in New York; and Amnesty International is working on this matter.

I asked the Swiss D. Petitmermet, deputy director of the Red Cross mission in Kabul, some questions about this work.

"We have been actively trying to meet with Soviet and Afghan prisoners since 1981," he said. "We tried to ease their plight and ensure that they were at least allowed to inform their relatives about what had happened to them. But this is a very complex matter because the opposition consists of different groupings and there are as many approaches to the prisoners as there are groupings. Up to 1984 we managed to bring 11 people from the opposition's jails and intern them in Switzerland. After spending 2 years in a special camp, 3 of them declared their desire to remain in the West while the rest returned home."

[Snegirev] What kind of camp was it and why were our servicemen kept there?

[Petitmermet] That was a condition of the agreement based on the provisions of the Geneva convention on the treatment of prisoners of war. Officially, these people could not be considered prisoners of war because they were taking part in an undeclared war. For that reason the Red Cross offered a means of rescuing them that was accepted by the mujahidin, representatives of the USSR, and our government. For 2 years they were regarded as prisoners and guarded by Swiss Army subunits. They were able to work and were paid for that. Each month they were visited by official representatives of the Soviet Union.

Since 1984, unfortunately, the opposition has not allowed us access to the prisoners.

[Snegirev] How do the mujahidin explain their unwillingness to show their prisoners or to agree to talks on the terms of their release?

[Petitmermet] I repeat: There are as many reasons as there are opposition groupings. Sometimes I get the impression that the Peshawar leaders want to discuss this theme only with the Soviet Union with no third party present. Possibly they are using the prisoners of war as a bargaining chip.

Believe me, we are very actively engaged in this matter virtually every day. The expansion of our presence in Afghanistan and Pakistan increases the Red Cross' opportunities.

[Snegirev] In your opinion, how many Soviet prisoners of war does the opposition have?

[Petitmermet] We use your figure—311 people.

[Snegirev] Do you know what conditions they are being kept in?

[Petitmermet] There is a strict rule here: We are categorically prohibited from divulging information of that kind. That is a specific feature of the confidential work of the Red Cross. [interview ends]

...Western journalists in their reports have repeatedly described meetings with Soviet prisoners on Pakistani territory, mentioned some of them by name, and described the inhuman conditions in which our people are being kept. Judging by those reports and other information the Soviet side has, most of the soldiers are languishing in the jails of Hikmatyar and Rabbani. Meanwhile, Islamabad continues to stubbornly claim that no Soviet servicemen captured by the mujahidin are present on Pakistani territory. At the moment that is impossible to believe.

Mujahidin Plans To Kill POW's Said 'Hitlerite'

PM0404140389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Apr 89 p 3

[A. Svistunov report: "Murder Announced"]

[Text] World War II started the same way. Provoking an attack on a radio station in Gliwice, the Germans left prisoners from the Reich's camps dressed in Polish uniforms on the battlefield. Germany, having challenged "itself" in the face of history, attacked Poland since an excuse had been "concocted."

Today the leaders of the Afghan "hard-liners" are planning to follow in the footsteps of the Hitlerite monsters. It has become known that Yunis Khalis, ringleader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," is planning to carry out an ignoble provocation: shipping Soviet POW's onto the territory of Nangarhar, dressing them in Soviet uniforms, shooting them, showing their corpses to Western journalists as "proof" of Soviet interference in hostilities near Jalalabad, and subsequently calling for a "holy war against the infidel." However, the political hand-me-downs from the time of the Third Reich cannot cover up the stark nakedness of the "hard-liners'" criminal plans. That is what were were told on this score by Oleg Yuryevich Smolnikov, chairman of the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Executive Committee and senior instructor in its External Relations Administration:

[Smolnikov] What Khalis' minions are planning to do is monstrous and criminal from the viewpoint of international humanitarian law. The Third Geneva Convention of 1949 on the status of POW's points out that they cannot even be tried, let alone tortured or executed. Article 3, which is common to all four Geneva Conventions of 1949, stipulates that prisoners be granted minimum rights, one of which is the right to life.

The International Red Cross Committee, which has more than 40 representatives on Afghan and Pakistani territory, is trying to do everything it can to free the Soviet POW's. But, unfortunately, the mujahidin are sabotaging all attempts to reach agreement. Khalis' plans cannot be called anything but criminal.

[Svistunov] Insofar as I am aware, we're talking about 311 Soviet POW's who have disappeared without a trace.

[Smolnikov] Quite right. The figure used to be given as 313. But we now know that two are dead. [Smolnikov ends]

We were told the following by Vladimir Vasiliyevich Mariy, senior secretary of the Soviet Public Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet POW's Held in Afghanistan:

[Mariy] When we learned of the planned provocations, we wanted to make a resolute protest. We hope, now the criminal plans of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" have been made public, that they will not be carried out. We would like to believe that the "hard-liners" will not take this step out of fear of a negative response from the world press and the reaction in Pakistan, which has signed the Geneva accords, and the United States, which is their guarantor, along with the USSR.

[Svistunov] As far as I am aware, there has been a meeting at the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions between representatives of your organization and an Amnesty International organization delegation that was visiting the USSR. What is the latter organization's position with regard to the Soviet POW's?

[Mariy] In general, the question of prisoners is not part of their portfolio. However, in this specific instance, Amnesty International has shown an interest. Back in February it published an appeal to all interested parties to show the utmost humanity and mercy to prisoners, not violate their rights, and hold them under the conditions laid down by international conventions. Amnesty International Secretary General Ian Martin assured us that the organization is prepared to help us get Soviet POW's back home. We have agreed on joint steps—specifically, to make corresponding petitions to the United States as a guarantor of the Geneva accords.

Afghanistan's 'Turkmen Battalion' Profiled

PM0404105189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 89 p 3

["Reportage from the Border" by special correspondent A. Bushev: "The Two Banks of the River"]

[Excerpts] Towraghoudi-Kushka—The state border here, at the southern tip of our country, runs along the channel of the Kushka River. Two neighboring towns, located on opposite banks, have ended up in different states: Our Kushka, the southern point of the USSR, and Towraghoudi, in the north of the present-day Province of Herat in the Republic of Afghanistan. The Turkmens who, through force of circumstances, remained on the other side have since then been called "Afghans." However, the expression "since then" covers a pretty long stretch of time. Up to roughly the forties, for example, our fellow-countrymen and their relatives separated by the border could visit one another quite freely, and the shepherds would follow their traditional routes and drive their flocks on to "foreign" territory—from us to them, and them to us—without hindrance. And even earlier, the survivors of Basmak gangs had crossed the border at this point, never to return.

The precise number of "Afghan Turkmens" today is unknown—different sources give different figures—but there are, according to the most conservative estimates, at least half a million in Afghanistan. [passage omitted]

...Towraghoudi, late January 1989. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was drawing to a close. It was during those tense days that a second trip by the Komsomol agitation train was conceived. The situation was highly charged, and the trip was finally "okayed" scarcely an hour before the planned departure.

The "Lenin Shift" team was again in Towraghoudi. We were again in the Afghan-Turkmen settlement. The conversation was no longer the same as in the summer, no one recalled the music and the bards.

"Your soldiers are leaving, while we stay," the elders said. "It will be very bad when you have gone. The dushman will not forgive us for extending our hospitality to the Russians for 10 years. They will shoot us... We want to live in the Soviet Union. Do pass on what we say..."

The old men's faces were anxious, their brows deeply furrowed, their eyes full of disquiet.

We promised to carry out their request.

Jumping ahead, let me say that we kept our promise. Together with a colleague, a correspondent from UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, I conveyed the Towraghoudi inhabitants' words to the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. But the anxieties of the "Afghan Turkmens" were already known there; a delegation of them had visited the Central Committee. Assistance had been sent in the form of flour, sugar, and medicine. Those who had relatives in the republic were allowed to come for several months.

Abdusalam Adylov [name as transliterated], deputy chief of the criminal investigation department in the settlement of Towraghoudi, a Turkmen by nationality, told me:

"It is generally peaceful here, in the Towraghoudi area. There are, it is true, three gangs circulating here, but they basically sort things out among themselves. There are a few more gangs further to the west, closer to the Iranian border. They are brazen: They steal livestock from the population and hijack vehicles on the roads, and if you are wearing a watch, they will take it."

[Correspondent] "Have there been actual attacks on Turkmens?"

[Adylov] "Yes, and on representatives of other nationalities. There was a case recently. Four Turkmen fellows out on patrol in the region ran into a dushman ambush. There was a long exchange of fire before they ran out of bullets. They were then killed and their bodies doused in gasoline and burned. That was the "Islamic Society" gang, which carries out raids from Iran. They steal, kill, and then return to Iran. When we learned of the death of these four men, we mustered 300 men from the Turkmen Battalion and wanted to exact revenge, but the murderers had fled...

[Correspondent] "The Turkmen Battalion? What's that?"

[Adylov] "It comprises around 800 young Turkmens and is led by Mulkibay [name as transliterated]. He is also the leader of the Turkmen community here in northern Afghanistan. The battalion is pretty well armed and supports the government troops, but it is mainly engaged in protecting women, mothers, children, and old people from robbery and violence."

I was introduced to Abdukhalim Yazmuradov [name as transliterated], a 22-year-old serviceman in the "Turkmen Battalion." It turned out that he had studied in the Soviet Union, graduating from a technical college in Ufa. He was an electrician by trade but had never yet worked as such.

"There's a war going on, and electricians are not needed for the time being," Abdukhalim said.

[Correspondent] "But how did you end up here, in Afghanistan?"

[Abdukhalim] "My grandfather and his family remained on this side of the border after your revolution, so we live here. We have many relatives in Turkmenistan. My parents, wife, and children are staying in Mariy Oblast at the moment. My brother teaches at the Turkmen State University."

[Correspondent] "But why didn't you leave with your family?"

[Abdukhalim] "I couldn't: I'm a soldier."

[Correspondent] "But you would like to live in the Soviet Union?"

[Abdukhalim] "Of course! I am tired of the war... But you have to fight. Although I am Turkmen by nationality, I was born and grew up in this land, my father and grandfather have lived here; that is to say, it is my.land, and I will defend it. But when the war is over, I will be able to think about other matters, about moving, for example."

[Correspondent] "Your old folk fear that you will not be able to defend yourselves after the Soviet troop withdrawal..."

[Abdukhalim] "No, that is not so. We will be able to defend ourselves and our homes. But many, alas, will die. The dushman are strong, too."

[Correspondent] "But what are the dushman after, in your view?"

[Abdukhalim] "Intertribal discord is very strong and differences are settled by resort to weapons, with which the country is now inundated. There are many gangs that simply make a fortune through pillage and plunder. I am convinced that the Afghan Army must at all costs seal off the border, across which large quantities of weapons flow into our country. It is a question of survival. It will determine how long the war goes on."

...As you can see, opinions vary, but, wherever they are, and Turkmens are nowadays scattered throughout Afghanistan, when they hear of the "Turkmen Battalion" they hurry here, to Towraghoudi. It is easier to bear the burden of the war and stick it out when you are together, and food, too, is a lot cheaper near our country's border.

Arab Fundamentalists Fighting in Afghanistan

PM0404141789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Martyrs or Mercenaries"]

[Text] Around 2,000 Arabs are taking part in combat actions in Afghanistan on the armed opposition side, AFP reports, citing diplomatic sources in Pakistan.

"Strike groups" of Arabs numbering up to 600 are to be found on the front line near Jalalabad. They are mainly adherents of the fundamentalist Islamic parties that oppose the legitimate Afghan Government. Some of them are "independent freedom-fighters" who have decided to personally take part in combat actions against the "communist infidels." AFP points out that the "strike groups" include people from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Kuwait, Algeria, several Palestinians, and even Frenchmen from the Arab countries of Africa.

Despite the fact that these armed formations conduct combat operations often in the most dangerous areas, clashes between them and the mujahidin as well as the local population, which is unhappy about foreign interference in the "holy war for the faith," are common. At the same time, Pakistan, AFP notes, is very committed to mujahidin training camps being organized on its territory, and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait give the opposition leaders financial support.

The leaders of the fundamentalist parties call the "strike group" members "Arab martyrs." However, AFP stresses, the Kabul government describes them differently, as "reactionary Saudi advisers" or "mercenaries."

* Main Afghan Mujahidin Groupings Profiled

18010528 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 89 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Main Groupings of Afghan Armed Opposition"]

[Text] Various groupings of the Afghan armed opposition—"irreconcilable" as they are called—are participating in the bloody fratricidal war against the people and the legal government of Afghanistan. They are distinguished by their position, their membership in various national and tribal associations, the various denominations of Islam—Sunni or Shi'ite—to which they belong, and their tactics.

All of the Afghan armed opposition can be divided into three groups.

The "Alliance of Seven"

This alliance includes mainly four fundamentalist parties who proclaim as their goal the creation of an Islamic state in Afghanistan. They are:

"The Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA). It is headed by the fairly well-known Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. He has taken advantage of his special position with the U.S. CIA, and has received up to 40 percent of all American "aid" to the opposition.

"The Islamic Society of Afghanistan" (IOA), is headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani, a former professor of theology at Kabul University. Recently the United States has been devoting special attention to the IOA since it is now the most suitable to the "protectors" across the ocean.

"The Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan" (ISOA). The head of this party is 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf. The ISOA is oriented mainly toward Saudi Arabia, and a large part of its assistance comes from there.

"The Islamic Party of Afghanistan" of Yunis Khalis (IPA). G. Hikmatyar broke off from the IPA 10 years ago. The party leader Yu. Khalis is the only one of the leaders of the "Seven" who participates directly in combat activities.

The other three parties of the "Seven" are called traditionalist. They are in favor of returning Afghanistan to pre-revolutionary forms of government. They include:

"The National Islamic Front of Afghanistan" (INFA). It is headed by Sayyed Hamid Gaylani. It has the greatest influence among Afghan refugees from Pakistan.

"The National Front for Saving Afghanistan" (NFSA). This party, headed by Sebghatullah Mujaddedi, is small. It holds monarchic positions and is in favor of returning the former King Zahir Shah to Afghanistan.

"The Movement of Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan" (DIRA). The leader of this relatively poorly organized grouping is Muhammad Nabi Muhammadi, a religious figure. Among the traditionalist parties it is closest of all to the fundamentalists.

The "Alliance of Seven" has its headquarters in Peshawar on the territory of Pakistan. Last month its participants created a marionette, so-called "Interim Government of Mujahidin." A protege of the extreme right-wing of the "Seven," Ahmad Shah from the ISOA, was appointed prime minister.

The Shi'ite "Eight"

The influence of the "Eight" extends only to the Shi'ite population of Afghanistan, who live mainly in the regions bordering Iran, and also the people of the Hazarehjat who live in the center of the country and in Kabul. All eight groupings are based on the territory of Iran and are oriented toward it. The best known of them are:

"The Corps of Guards." This group was organized on the model of the Iranian "Guards of the Revolution" and is Tehran's most reliable ally.

"The Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Union of Afghanistan." This group is headed by the relatively moderate leader Sayyed Beheshti.

"The Party of Victory." This group is trying to take over the dominant position in the Shi'ite "Eight." Obviously, because of this Tehran is keeping close track of its activity and has cut support recently.

"The Islamic Movement," which is headed by Shaykh 'Asif Mohseni. It has followers in various parts of Afghanistan but there are not many of them.

The Shi'ite "Eight" includes four other groupings, but they are small Shi'ite parties of local significance and have no special importance either in the "Alliance of Eight" or among the population of Afghanistan.

"Field Commanders"

"Field commanders" are those in charge of armed opposition detachments of various sizes that are permanently based within the territory of Afghanistan. As a rule, they wage armed combat with government troops, but from time to time they make contact with representatives of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and conclude temporary agreements regarding various issues. Certain "field commanders" along with their detachments have changed over to the side of popular power. Others are fighting fiercely, but still consider themselves independent both of the "Alliance of Seven" and the Shi'ite "Eight."

Among the "field commanders," the most influential are Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, whose detachments operate in the Panjtan Valley and on the road from Hayratan to Kabul in the region of the Panjshir, and also Abdul Haq, whose forces operate mainly in the region of Kabul.

4,035 Jews Emigrate from USSR; 459 Go to Israel

TA3103162989 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Some 4,035 Jews left the Soviet Union this month, which constitutes an increase of over 200 percent compared to the same period last year. Some 459 of them, or over 11 percent, came to Israel. This was reported by Uri Gordon, chairman of the Jewish Agency's Immigration and Absorption Department. About 9,650 Jews have been allowed to leave the Soviet Union since the beginning of 1989, four times the number during the same period last year.

According to Gordon, this confirms forecasts that 50,000 Jews will emigrate from the Soviet Union this year. He called for increased efforts to prevent dropouts.

Moroccan Socialist Congress Completes Work

PM0404170789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA and TASS correspondents S. Filatov and V. Korzelev: "Congress Completes Work"]

[Text] Rabat, 3 Apr—Delegates at the Fifth Congress of the Moroccan Socialist Union of Popular Forces [USFP], which completed work here today, spoke in favor of deepening the democratic processes in society.

Among other basic tasks for the immediate future, they highlighted those of consolidating party ranks in order to defend the ideals of freedom and democracy and the country's territorial integrity, building a society free of all forms of exploitation and based on equality and social justice, and concretizing on a democratic basis the provisions of the Treaty on the Arab Maghreb Union concluded by the five North African states.

The USFP expressed its attitude on a whole series of international problems. It stressed the "positive effect" of the dialogue between the two great powers and approved of their political will to seek decisive progress in the tasks of disarmament, the strengthening of detente, and the development of economic cooperation. The congress welcomed the real results achieved in world affairs thanks to the new political thinking. In particular, it expressed satisfaction that many regional conflicts are being solved. Delegates urged Arab states to intensify all-around aid to the struggling people of Palestine in the defense of their legitimate rights, and stated the need to convene an international peace conference on the Near East.

The idea of the USFP trying to develop relations with socialist, communist, and democratic parties in various countries was voiced in particular. The resolution states that the fifth congress "takes satisfaction in noting the high level of solidarity and friendship uniting our party and the CPSU."

The Central Committee was elected. A. Bquabid was reelected first secretary.

A CPSU delegation led by L.N. Spiridonov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief editor of PRAVDA, took part in the congress' work.

East Europe

Karoly Grosz Discusses Hungarian Reforms

18070577 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 13, 29 Mar 89 p 14

[Article by Vladimir Stefanof: "Karoly Grosz"]

[Text] The last and most difficult day of work of the All-Hungarian Party Conference has come to an end. The party has changed its course, feeling its way with difficulty along the new, untraveled path to socialism. Toward a socialism that is new and unusual as well. Market.... Distribution according to labor and capital.... Pluralism.... I recall it was May of 1988.

It has become obvious also that only new people could accomplish the intended change. A closed meeting of the conference and the first CC [Central Committee] plenum was to give their names.

By the time the open meeting was resumed the crowded press center was filled to the limit. The closed circuit monitors had already been turned on. The delegates were in their places and there was a hum of voices of people waiting impatiently, but the presidium was still empty. A half hour passed. In the press center they announced that the organizational plenum of the CC was being extended. They asked that we be patient.

Finally the party leaders appeared in the plenum. Janos Kadar took his place at the chairman's panel. His face showed obvious confusion. The results of the elections were being made public. Janos Kadar had been elected party chairman. Applause. The general secretary was Karoly Grosz. Turbulent applause.

Karoly Grosz began in politics as secretary of the party committee for Hungarian radio and television. This was at the beginning of the 1960's. It was an extraordinary time. The ideas of the first Hungarian reforms were making their appearance in the party and the society. Disputes broke out everywhere. It was necessary to think a great deal, to compare, and to define positions.

From an interview the author received from K. Grosz:

"I did not completely understand the reforms of 1968. The aspirations were clear and close to my heart. But when we achieve these I am left with a question. During those years there were many new ideas. And when there are too many new ideas it is impossible to think them all through seriously—this frightens me. I think that bustle and hasty thinking can do as much harm to the cause as doing nothing can."

Soon it became possible to compare our actual ideas about reforms with practice. Since 1973 Karoly Grosz has been first secretary of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party] committee for Fejer county. The county center is Szekesfehervar—a large industrial city.

His work in the country was not long-lived—not quite 2 years. But it gave him an immense amount of material for contemplation and it nudged him toward the concept of development which many years later he was to propose as prime minister.

But for the time being he was the leader of the section for agitation and propaganda in the CC. Now opportunities and impressions. And different positions. Positions which more and more frequently placed him in...the opposition. He did not hide and he did not remain silent. He declared his convictions openly and honestly. And, naturally, he elicited from those around him not only mutual understanding but also rejection.

From the interview:

"Sometimes I noted that it was not at all a matter of right or wrong. It was simply that many leaders did not wish to look the truth in the eye and recognize the mistakes they had made. Through my speeches I encroached mainly on personal interests. They defended their views only for the sake of prestige and certainly not because I had committed heresy."

But the next time relations with his opponents were pushed to the limit he had to change his place of work. Again to the provinces.

From the interview:

"Before my first departure for the county of Borsod, Comrade Kadar called me in. The discussion was a good one. It was not necessary to persuade me; I was glad to accept the suggestion. Comrade Kadar had decided to explain his decision to me. He said, and I shall never forget this: 'You must go because that will be better for the party, it will be better for us, and it will be better for you.' And he was right. In any case it was indeed better for me."

Karoly Grosz considers himself a student of Janos Kadar. He speaks of him with immense respect but does not idealize him.

From the interview:

"From the very beginning Janos Kadar spoke as a politician with his own views. You can imagine that at that time he had certain arguments with the Soviet leadership. This was a big thing! And we—the politicians of my generation—grew up on this."

During those years there were also disagreements within the Hungarian leadership itself. They did not cause a large political stir. It is known that Janos Kadar kept close track of the discussions, did not suppress them, but he did not allow them to grow into conflicts.

From the interview:

"There was a struggle for many years. I personally had sharp differences of opinion and heated discussions with Janos Kadar. Sometimes he would categorically deny my views. He could be rigid and irreconcilable. But I never felt personal hostility from him, not to mention revenge. Janos Kadar imbued our movement with political culture. I hope that these values have become a permanent part of party life. We find it fashionable to curse the

Stalinist model. So I assert that the crudest manifestations of Stalinism were destroyed in our country long ago by the politics of Janos Kadar. He will go down in history for this."

His departure from the capital to the county of Borsod was also a return home for Karoly Grosz. He was born in Miskolc, the county center. He spent his childhood and youth in a worker settlement. Here he mastered his first trade—printing. The strong workers' movement in Miskolc accepted him into its ranks and later set him on the political path. He lived here until 1956.

His mother still lives in Miskolc today. In a small house on a small pension. "Since I moved to Budapest we see each other rarely. There is not enough time. It is a good thing that my brother and sisters live in Miskolc. They take care of her and help out...."

Incidentally, a couple of words about his family. Karoly Grosz's sons are engineers and he has four grandsons. His personal life? Grosz shrugs his shoulders: What kind of personal life can you have when you work 14 hours a day? "Fortunately, my family became accustomed to this long ago and it does not bother them."

He has not been on a real vacation for a long time. Even during his free hours he reads only what is required for his work. He likes fishing and hopes that some day he will have a chance to do some fishing. So he has decided to build a house on the shore of a small lake.

"As soon as it is ready I shall turn the city apartment over to the state and move closer to nature."

"And will you be moving soon?"

"Hardly," he waves his hand in despair. "In our country first it is one year and then another. First you cannot find tiles, then there are no faucets...."

But let us return to Miskolc. His home town greeted its returning native son with a pile of old conflicts.

Grosz did not limit himself to solving local problems. He tried to theoretically interpret a wide range of issues related to the town's position in the economy and the society. He looked for the causes of the difficulties that by that time were already piling up in the country and drew conclusions. He asked for unbiased opinions from his colleagues. In Miskolc they are still talking about his ability to listen to people, argue, persuade, and also to admit his own mistakes.

From the interview:

"The experience I acquired in Borsod brought me to the understanding that fundamental changes had to be made. Both in the practice of socialist construction and in the style of political work as well as in the way of thinking. Actually, a new strategy was needed....

Karoly Grosz participated in the preparations for the 13th MSZMP Congress as the first secretary of the Budapest party gorkom [city party committee]. Concerning many issues related to the new strategy he had a clear and precise position. But he understood that not everyone was ready to accept his ideas.

From the interview:

"Sometimes I felt that I was all alone...."

I prepared two lists of questions for my conversation with Karoly Grosz. More detailed questions in case I had to ask a lot of them, and a shorter list in the event that I would be mainly listening. I was promised 60 minutes and I wanted to use this time with the greatest effectiveness.

We talked for 2 hours. But I did not manage to ask all the questions even from the shorter list. There were so many precise, scrupulously detailed answers.

Karoly Grosz spoke calmly, without restraining his voice at all. But the almost palpable powerful energy of his conviction was almost hypnotic. My experienced colleagues prepared me before the meeting: You must be able to interrupt Grosz, to contradict him. What an order! Only later, when listening to the recording of the conversation did I become able to "interrupt" and not agree with some things.

"What are the basic features of the economic policy that should be established in Hungary in keeping with the new strategy?"

"There is nothing special in our model.

"The first thing. It is necessary to solve the problem of more effective functioning of public property. In my opinion, the biggest problem of the entire socialist camp is that it has not been able to create either for the workers or for the enterprises an incentive system which would motivate them to utilize more effectively the public property that has been entrusted to them. I do not believe that the enterprise is doomed to poor operation simply because it is a state enterprise.

"Second. We have quite unjustifiably made an excessively high proportion of the property in the economy public. This has happened because of the theoretically erroneous idea that socialism can be constructed in a short amount of time. I am convinced that socialism as a transitional condition will exist for many decades if not centuries. Let us recall that according to Marx and Lenin, socialism is the part of capitalism that is in communism. And this being the case, it is necessary to achieve more reasonable proportions in the ratio between the forms of property. My variant: 70-75 percent public and 25-30 percent private. Many people in the party reproach me for betraying socialism. This is not true. With a reasonable ratio between the forms of property socialism is still socialism, but we can take better advantage of its immense power.

"Further. Today our society is based on a philosophy of distribution. Everyone speaks only about distribution and about how it should be fair. This state of affairs must change. The society must be directed toward production, and think and be concerned primarily about production. Otherwise there might not be anything to distribute.

"Finally, the most important element of the model is the market. It should become the only measure of the results of our work. As long as there is no market we shall be encountering absurd phenomena. An example. Today the volumes of supplies in the warehouses in Hungary are approaching the country's annual gross output. A considerable proportion are goods that cannot be sold. Even the most developed countries of the world would not put up with this kind of waste! Labor, energy, and raw materials lie around as a dead weight and do no good.... We must produce only what we can sell. And it is possible to sell only on the market!"

"Your new strategy presupposes political transformations as well...."

"Undoubtedly. In order to understand the essence of the reform of the political system, including the reform of the party, it is necessary to return to recent history again. I have already said that the merit of Janos Kadar consists in that he rejected the Stalinist model of society in practice. But he also left a great debt behind him! Having destroyed that which was wrong and had outlived its time, he nonetheless failed to create a new, self-regulating political system. The current system even now rests largely on the subjective factor. It was the party's good fortune that after 1956 it was headed by such a leader as Janos Kadar. But what was initially of value to the party later became a burden. After 20-25 years the personality could no longer keep up the demand for development, and the system that he created could not automatically neutralize the weaknesses that appeared. Around the personality appeared people who took advantage of the vacuum however they wished to. The consequences were severe. In summary, I see the essence of the political reforms in creating a system which will depend to a minimum degree on the merits and weaknesses of the subject, the personality. This pertains both to the party and to the state, as well as to the entire political structure of the society."

The basic elements of the concept of the change were embodied in September 1987 in the governmental program for stabilization of the economy. Of course this document is the fruit of collective creativity, but it can be assumed that Karoly Grosz, who by that time had become the chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, played a decisive role in its development. The session of the National Assembly enthusiastically adopted the program, thus supporting the reformist aspirations of the new head of state. The economic revolution had begun.

But even then, both in the party and in the society, especially among Marxist scholars, they began to speak of the inadequate theoretical substantiation of the concept of the revolution and the ideological deficiencies in the fabric of the new policy.

Karoly Grosz himself recognizes the theoretical weaknesses of the new model, but thinks:

"What we are doing cannot be justified theoretically. I believe we are introducing a strange, but nonetheless Marxist practice: First we shall achieve political unity and then we shall try out our ideas and on this basis draw general theoretical conclusions."

This remark reveals one of the most important features of the political signature of Karoly Grosz: first practice and then theory.

I dare say that by his very nature Karoly Grosz is no theoretician. An organizer? Yes, a persistent and purposeful one. A tribune? A talented and inflammatory one. But not a theoretician. And this is certainly not a bad thing for leadership at this level when all around are like-thinkers who are capable of filling in what is missing and taking over part of the work.

Theory does not mean brochures. The people need a clear understanding of the causes of previous failures, a vision of the new goals, and a precise determination of the means. When these are lacking the following appear: at the upper levels—an abundance of ideas, a lot of bustle, and lack of direction, and at the lower levels—doubts, a lack of confidence, and inactivity.

From the interview:

"Our changes are the result of the initiative of a very small group of people in the party. But I was counting on the enthusiasm that is typical of initiators and spreads to the majority of communists. Here I was mistaken. Even today they do not have a very good understanding of what this revolution means. They have remained passive observers...."

The passivity of many of the party members, the weakening of their influence in society, and the confusion in the work force have brought about a wave of enthusiasm among that part of the Hungarian opposition for whom socialism is the enemy. They are not wasting time, they are forming their ranks, and the most dangerous thing is that through skillful tactics they are having a disintegrating effect on the party.

Karoly Grosz says:

"The extremist wing of the opposition organizations are aggravating the situation, speaking out against cooperation [with the MSZMP], and turning people against the existing system. What are the tactics of the extremists? Above all they would like to break apart the MSZMP and separate it into the "reformist wing" and the "Stalinist wing" and thus weaken the center. By this method they are trying to sap the strength of the MSZMP and get those who have left the party to join them.

"... We should have no illusions. The extremist part of our political opponents are striving not to improve socialism but to destroy it by peaceful means. Not to share our concerns but, relying on our weaknesses, to carry out a restoration."

Recently when looking at newspaper photographs of Grosz I noticed that his wrinkles are deeper and his eyes show more concern. As early as January during our meeting he spoke about his work. Now the word "struggle" is more appropriate for his activity.

"If you think of the kind of trust they have placed in you, the kind of responsibility you have taken on, you cannot be still for a minute. It is terrible."

The situation in the country is changing not by the day but by the hour. The return from the economic transformations is not great yet, and life has become more difficult. Dissatisfaction is growing even though the political reforms are making giant strides. But regardless of how perfect the superstructure may be, with an unstable base the entire edifice may be shaky.

Recently the MSZMP CC was the initiator of of the restoration of the institution of multiparty elections as a condition for further political development. But will the MSZMP be able to withstand the pressure from the opposition?

There is a new program of action. It should become the basis for an active, aggressive policy. Unity has been proclaimed between the two trends: reformist communism and social democracy.... The millionaire entrepreneur and the poor worker are in the same camp.... How can all this be drawn together? And the opposition is impatient, they are making demands to tear bolshevism and, moreover, the very concept of communism, out of the awareness of Hungarians.

Karoly Grosz says:

"The MSZMP does not wish to give up power, but if we lose it it will be through our own mistakes."

The responsibility of the party leader is greater now than ever before.

Journalists Examine Current Polish Issues

PM2303142589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Second and final part of special correspondent N. Yermolovich dispatch: "Two Days in Warsaw"; first part of series published in the 20 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 23]

[Text] Warsaw-Moscow—Information from the Polish Radio and Television Affairs Committee Center for the Study of Public Opinion provides plenty of food for thought about sociopolitical priorities in Polish society and the degree of trust that society shows toward particular party and state institutions. Thus the Polish Army enjoys the greatest public trust (75 percent of those polled), the Sejm enjoys slightly less (61 percent), then comes the government (51 percent), and in last place is the party, with only 29 percent.

These figures reflect the real situation. The turbulent events of the last decade have thoroughly undermined and weakened the PZPR's [Polish United Workers Party] prestige in Polish society. Some 300,000 communists handed in their party cards in protest at the introduction of martial law. And it would be a mistake to think that they constituted the worst part of the party. No, unfortunately, the members who were most politically developed, open to change, and the most receptive to democracy and liberalism left. It is not for nothing that the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum urged that the way be cleared for the return to the party of those who left it in the 1980's and who did not breach program principles and ethical norms in their activity.

Yes, a strong nucleus remained, consisting of those who had completely linked their fate with the party—in both good times and bad.... The only trouble is that sometimes this nucleus is too firm and sluggish and does not notice the relentless passage of time and the need for radical changes. Perhaps age is also taking its toll. The party has aged noticeably. The average age of its members now exceeds 45. In 1980 it was under 40. Over this time the number of communists in Poland has dropped by one-third—there were 3.2 million, and 2.1 million remain.

The events of 1980-1981, the mutual complaints, and the grievances are still fresh in the memory of both the party and the opposition. The policy of recent years, which was expressed in total discrimination against "Solidarity" and its leadership, brought success for a while. But, as I have already written, last year the situation changed fundamentally.

"Solidarity" itself also changed, at least outwardly. Extremist slogans and appeals disappeared from use. It had learned a great deal. In this respect, the metamorphosis that L. Walesa underwent is very typical. The "political corpse," as he was called by some journalists, did not waste his time. It's said that he studied English, he graduated from a church school, and completed two years of Catholic university.... It was as though he was specially preparing himself for the new role which not so much fate as the course of events held in store for him.

Incidentally, all the Western statesmen of any prominence who have visited Poland have stressed Walesa's new role persistently and systematically, as though according to a prearranged scenario. The sequence of visits almost became a ritual: to the authorities, to the head of the Catholic Church, and to the leader of the opposition....

The initiative of the roundtable meeting proposed by the country's leadership was a complete surprise to the party and its apparatus. The sentiments which predominated at party organizations could have been expressed in the indignant phrase: "Sit down at the same table with Walesa?!" This is scarcely surprising when activists have been raised on the idea that they do not sit down at the same table with their enemy, but fight him. The party's firmly established dogmatism limited its tactics and fettered freedom of maneuver.

In an amazingly short time—between August 1988 and the end of January 1989 (the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum)—the party went through a crash course in strategic and tactical thinking. In spite of the then-current opinion that if hard-and-fast principles were given up, then the party would collapse and many communists would leave it, this did not happen. Moreover, at the voivodship and plant party report conferences which are now under way, people are arguing not about whether dialogue with the opposition is necessary and correct, but about how it should best be conducted so that it does not threaten the party and socialism.

The party at last anticipated the train of what were, so far as it was concerned, unfavorable events and boldly decided on offensive action, on the historic experiment of agreement with the opposition. And of course, this was done not to weaken socialism, but to ensure calm and order within the constitution's framework and to improve people's life. This is a chance, an opportunity, our Polish comrades told us. But here it is always necessary to see a clear dividing line, the front line, and the need for a class approach to the events taking place. If you dig deeper, then it will transpire that the opposition is not to the authorities, but to the socialist structure. We, my interlocutors stressed, are utilizing a specifically Polish situation. So our decisions are not suitable for export. In addition, there is no guarantee of success. But if we had not done this, the party would be regarded as only struggling for power and its leadership would be seen as a conservative force. The political contradictions would inevitably be exacerbated. On top of the difficult economic situation, they could lead to a sharp confrontation, and also to total destabilization of the country's situation.

In short, there was no choice. The use of force was the only alternative to agreement. But the Polish problems cannot be resolved either with bayonets or with rocks. Both the country's leaders and the opposition's leaders reached this, the only possible conclusion.

Everyone realizes that agreement with the opposition is by no means voluntary and it can only be a compromise. So the roundtable meetings are primarily a clarification of intentions, complaints, and demands. The price of agreement should not be excessively high or exceed reasonable limits. This heralded a difficult, at times even fierce political struggle.

In our interlocutors' opinion, it was to the party's benefit. It was not ready for it. It is not without reason that a section of the apparatus still has a nostalgia for earlier years, when life was carefree and peaceful. And now, according to the vivid comparison widespread here, pike have been let loose in the quiet pond full of lazy carp....

"It is difficult to respect people or circles who are politically and morally weak," Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, said, speaking in Bydgoszcz at the party report conference of the Pomeranian Military District. "The difficult time and unstable situation reflect people's positions most clearly and test the strength of principles. Some support profound democratic changes which strengthen socialism, the coalition of left-wing forces, and the collaboration of reforming efforts, while others, fortunately not too numerous, put spokes in the wheels from either conservative or defeatist positions. And yet others who were in a state of pampered idleness for many years when they should have been struggling are seizing the party by the throat or, rather, hitting it below the belt now that it has boldly accelerated its pioneering, historic work of change...."

In addition to the conservatives and the defeatists about whom the Polish leader spoke bitterly, the party also has quite a significant stratum of typical functionaries who both think and act correctly, but have completely forgotten what it means to work among the masses and to lead them. Almost every day after the sessions of the roundtable working groups the participants appear on television screen: sometimes at press conferences, and sometimes answering interviewers' questions. "How often our people lose to the opposition," the Polish comrades lamented. The members of the opposition already have many years of experience of meetings, assemblies, and demonstrations and their short and sometimes demagogic speeches are designed for instant impact—they are vivid, intelligible, and graphic. Our people look quite drab in this context, behave as if they were at a meeting, and mumble something that is correct but does not reach either people's minds or their hearts. There is progress for the better, but not as much as one might like.

There is another force which stays in the shadows, although it is also represented at the roundtable. This is the powerful Catholic Church—the "kosciol," as it is called here. The fact that a significant number of PZPR members are believers testifies to the extent of the church's influence. It was not for nothing that the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum resolution said that the PZPR deems religious convictions to be its members' own personal affair. Views and actions in the spirit of political clericalism are held to contravene party membership.

The church is divided politically into a wing which is loyal to the authorities (for nowhere does the church feel as good as in Poland, and it has no interest in replacing them) and an extremist wing. But now even the militant clergy advocating political clericalism have fallen silent and are not opposing the roundtable. The church, which is directly linked with the Vatican, has a huge influence on the opposition, and many regard it as one of the architects of the roundtable. Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the primate of the Catholic Church in Poland, also indicated this indirectly. In an interview with SLOWO POWSZECHNE he stressed that the roundtable is a very important, historic event and a great achievement. It took a great deal of boldness to hold it. The church representatives also put a great deal of effort into this work. The talks are often very detailed, which may drag them out unduly. They should only outline the main directions of practical measures. There should be no delay in switching from discussion to action.

I shall note in passing that the church adheres to the rule of not talking at the roundtable about its own affairs. It settles them in direct contacts with the authorities. Clearly it is suited to the role not so much of observer at the talks under way as of guarantor of the accords reached.

These are becoming increasingly real. Although the beginning of the roundtable meetings did not promise success. The first speeches were wholly devoted to the past: So much bitterness has accumulated over the past years. Of course, it cannot be said that the opposition is solely to blame for all the faults. But this circumstance does not change nor excuse the main weakness of its position. The fact is that the opposition has not formulated its own alternative program for the country's future development. Perhaps this is the reason for the phenomenon correctly noted by the cardinal, the delving into detail instead of working out the main directions of practical measures.

It is impossible to cover even briefly the subjects of discussions in the roundtable working groups. I shall dwell only on some of them. The government side is proposing to the opposition that its financial relations with Washington be regulated by legislation (as is well known, the U.S. Congress allocates up to $3 million every year to "Solidarity"). The opposition is in no hurry to do this. For its part, the opposition is pressing for the depoliticization of enterprises (so that there are no PZPR primary organizations there). But the government side does not agree to that. The opposition wants airtime on television. In response, a proposal has been made to create a common third program (now there are only two in Poland), a kind of "civic platform" intended only for speeches by representatives of all political parties and public movements....

It is impossible to list everything. There is probably no need to do so now. The fact is that the sides have reached agreement in principle on the most important points of political reform. These concern the creation of the institution of president and a Sejm second chamber which will consist of an equal number of representatives from each of the country's voivodships. In addition, in June this year there will be a nonconfrontational general election. So, barring surprises, the opposition will support the political and economic reforms, "Solidarity" will be legalized as a trade union, and its representatives will enter the Sejm.

An entirely new situation is being created in Poland. For the first time the PZPR will lose (this is the agreement) the parliamentary majority. The role of the allied parties—the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD]—is growing sharply. They are perfectly aware of this and are trying to expand their base. In the new Sejm, according to preliminary estimates, the coalition (PZPR, ZSL, and SD) will get 60 percent of the seats and nonparty people will get 40 percent. The roundtable and the law on elections will indicate how many of them will be opposition representatives.

In the new conditions the PZPR will not be able to take a single step in any major venture without consensus. This, in our interlocutors' opinion, will save the party from mistakes and will give it immunity from conceit. At present 900,000 PZPR members occupy all kinds of leading posts. A difficult choice awaits the members who lose them. And that will apply to at least one-third of them.

The role of the coalition government will increase sharply. It will increasingly become the center of power and not simply the executant of party decisions. Society must know that this is a government of all the Poles.

Are there opponents to the agreement which is believed to be on the point of being concluded? Yes, there are, both in the party and in the opposition. But the most intransigent are in the extremist illegal organizations which were left out of the roundtable discussions. The outrages involving containing elements of anti-Sovietism (mocking the Soviet Army's symbols and defiling the monument to the liberating soldiers in Krakow) which they have staged—all these acts are attempts to wreck the roundtable discussions and to put L. Walesa, who supports the "Independent Union of Students," in an awkward position. L. Walesa, who has toured half of Poland recently and has spoken in many cities, has appealed for calm and order. Speaking about the roundtable, he stated: "The authorities created such an opening that we were dragged in and bricked in."

...Toward evening on the last day in Warsaw, after turning out of Krakowskie Przedmiescie, our minibus stopped at the entrance to the Radziwill Palace, now used as a Polish Council of Ministers building. This is where the roundtable's work is taking place. We saw the working groups' room, secretariats with typists hurriedly typing shorthand reports, and, finally, the round table itself. It seemed symbolic that it was located in the Hall of Columns where the Warsaw Pact, which has brought peace to Europe for many decades, was once signed.

Perhaps the new agreement will bring equally long and durable peace to Poland? I would very much like to believe this.

Soviet Economists Predicted Polish Crisis

LD2903015189 Warsaw PAP in English 1617 GMT 28 Mar 89

[By PAP Correspondent Jerzy Malczyk]

[Text] Moscow, March 28—A prominent Soviet economist Oleg Bogomolov told the daily MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS that economists from the USSR Academy of Sciences had warned the Soviet leadership in the late 1970s of an imminent crisis in Poland.

"We were warning of an oncoming economic and sociopolitical crisis in Poland. We did that in a rather categorical manner, too. This, however, was discordant with the official opinion which tried to minimalize the graveness of the situation, to turn a blind eye to many a negative process," Bogomolov told the daily.

Bogomolov is director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' institute of economics of the world socialist system.

Gusev Receives CSSR Deputy Premier Hrivnak

PM0404143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] On 31 March V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received P. Hrivnak, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the CSSR Commission for Science and Technology.

During the talks, which were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, issues of the state of USSR-CSSR trade and economic relations and problems of environmental conservation were discussed. Special attention was devoted to the work being done to improve the economic mechanism, to introduce the most modern technologies into the countries' national economies, and to increase consumer goods production, as well as to cooperate in the sphere of producing chemical and microbiological products.

Latest Disturbances in Kosovo Reported

PM2903144989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The Situation Is Deteriorating"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Mar—Albanian popular demonstrations protesting against the endorsement of changes in the Serbian Constitution by the Kosovo Provincial Assembly took place Saturday [25 March] in the city of Urosevac in Kosovo Autonomous Province.

TANJUG reports that Albanian separatists and nationalists made use of market day to organize disturbances. A crowd of some 4,000 people gathered near the city center shouted separatist slogans. The demonstrators threw rocks at the militiamen who arrived to restore order, injuring many of them. The demonstrators not only threw rocks at the militia but shot at them with handguns too. Only after reinforcements had been called in was the demonstration dispersed. Another demonstration took place in Stimlje city.

A session of the local committee for national defense and public self-defense was held at Urosevac. It noted that the situation in the city had deteriorated considerably over the last 2 days.

CPSU Cables LCY on Death of Pavle Gregoric

LD2503222989 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 2000 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has sent a telegram to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee saying: On the occasion of the death of an honorable activist of the communist and workers movement of Yugoslavia, participant in the Great October Revolution, Pavle Gregoric, we express sincere condolences to the LCY Central Committee and all Yugoslav communists. Soviet people will forever keep the memory of Pavle Gregoric, revolutionary and internationalist, who nobly contributed to the defense of Great October's achievements.

West Europe

Italian Trade Minister Ruggiero Visits USSR

Ruggiero Meets With Ryzhkov

PM0404133389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 April 89 Morning Edition p 2

["Conversation With Italian Minister"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Renato Ruggiero, Italian minister of foreign trade, in the Kremlin on 3 April.

The Italian minister is currently in Moscow in connection with the jubilee session of the Italian-Soviet Chamber of Commerce marking its 25th anniversary.

There was a detailed exchange of views on a wide range of matters concerning Soviet-Italian relations, with much attention devoted to prospects for Soviet-Italian political dialogue, including that at summit level, as the major factor in the expansion and deepening of the two countries' interaction both in the field of bilateral cooperation and in tackling international issues, above all European ones.

Ryzhkov spoke of the main directions of political and socioeconomic reforms that have been launched in the Soviet Union during the new stage of restructuring.

It was pointed out that the Soviet Union would continue to rely primarily on its own resources in the efforts to promote economic, scientific, and technological development, but that at the same time it intended to a greater extent than before to draw on mutually-beneficial cooperation with other countries, including Italy.

This is illustrated, in particular, by a considerable extension of the circle of Soviet-Italian joint ventures, the number of which is already nearing 30.

Renato Ruggiero pointed out that people in Italy are following with great attention, interest, and hope the radical changes taking place in various fields of Soviet social life.

He voiced the opinion that Italian-Soviet cooperation should organically fit into the restructuring process in the Soviet Union as much as possible.

Some specific results of business cooperation achieved in the development of the existing accords were considered from this point of view, and the two sides' interest in creating more favourable conditions for further expansion of economic, scientific, and technological exchanges was emphasized.

K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; Yu.Ye. Andrianov, USSR trade representative in Italy; and G. Zucconi, Italian charge d'affaires in the USSR, participated in the conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Cooperation Pact Signed

LD0304221389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1632 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Apr (TASS)—Talks were held today between Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic ties, and Renato Ruggiero, Italian minister of foreign trade. The state of and prospects for Soviet-Italian foreign economic relations were discussed. A number of major projects for bilateral cooperation were examined, including some that make use of new forms of trade and economic ties.

A document was signed entitled "1989-90 Measures for Implementation of a Long-Term Program To Intensify Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and Italy for the Period Up to 1990".

Biryukova Receives Ruggiero

LD0404135689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Apr (TASS)—Today Aleksandra Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Renato Ruggiero, Italy's foreign trade minister in the Kremlin.

During the discussion, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, questions of Soviet-Italian cooperation in the sphere of consumer goods production were discussed, including the construction of new enterprises in light industry and the reconstruction of old ones. The mutual interest in developing progressive new forms of cooperation, including the creation of joint enterprises, was noted.

Ryzhkov Greets Soviet-Italian Chamber of Commerce

PM0404151789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Second Edition p 2

[Greetings message from N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: "To the Participants in the Italian-Soviet Chamber of Commerce General Assembly"]

[Text] I greet the participants in the Italian-Soviet Chamber of Commerce General Assembly on the 25th anniversary of its foundation.

The creation of the chamber reflected the two countries' desire to develop trade and economic relations on a long-term and mutually advantageous basis. The Italian-Soviet Chamber has become a prestigious organ that plays an effective coordinating role in contacts between Soviet and Italian foreign trade organizations, enterprises, and firms.

Italy is a longstanding and respected business partner of the Soviet Union. The good traditions of bilateral cooperation are being strengthened through joint efforts by both countries, a search for new progressive forms of cooperation is underway, and implementation of these forms is being arranged.

The October 1988 Soviet-Italian summit in Moscow was an important landmark in the political dialogue between the USSR and Italy in the spirit of new thinking. The active work being done in both countries to implement the agreements reached during the summit should raise the entire range of bilateral ties to a qualitatively new level more fully in accord with the demands of the time and the interests of the Soviet and Italian peoples.

In this regard, the fact that during the deepening of the radical economic reform in the Soviet Union all enterprises, associations, organizations, and industrial cooperatives have been given the right as of 1 April 1989 to conduct import-export operations is of considerable importance. Their independence and interest in utilizing new forms of economic cooperation with foreign firms is growing. I am confident that the chamber will be able to find its place in the new situation and will make a weighty contribution to developing Soviet-Italian business cooperation.

I wish the participants in the general assembly success in their useful activity, which promotes the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust between the Soviet and Italian peoples and the creation of favorable conditions for the building of a "common European home."

[Signed] N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

French Defense Minister Continues USSR Visit

Welcomed by USSR Military Officials

PM0404144589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Apr 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "For an Official Visit"]

[Text] French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement, accompanied by his wife and entourage, arrived in the Soviet Union 3 April for an official visit at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense.

The guest was met at Sheremetyevo Airport by Army General D.T. Yazov; Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy minister of defense; Army General V.I. Varennikov, Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, and Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense ministers; and other USSR Defense Ministry officials.

Y. Pagniez, French ambassador to the USSR; Brigadier General P. Vigla, defense attache at the French embassy in the USSR; and other officials were among the welcoming party. The French and Soviet state flags were flying at the airport and an honor guard was drawn up on the tarmac.

On the same day talks were held between the defense ministers of the USSR and France. Taking part in the talks on the Soviet side were Army General M.A. Moiseyev, Army General V.I. Varennikov, Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, and Army General V.M. Shabanov; and on the French side were Y. Pagniez and Brigadier General P. Vigla. Questions of mutual interest were discussed.

Jean-Pierre Chevenement laid a wreath at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Army General D.T. Yazov gave a dinner in honor of J.P. Chevenement.

Visits Moscow Army Units

LD0404194989 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—French Minister of Defence Jean-Pierre Chevenement, who is currently on an official visit in the Soviet Union, went to an army unit here today.

"We highly appraise the principle of reasonable sufficiency in defence advanced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and consider that each country should ensure its security proceeding from this principle," the minister told the media in a brief interview.

He commented on the French position at the Vienna talks on conventional arms and said France would like to see a lower level of arms in Europe.

"Working out measures to avert sudden armed aggression is a high priority issue, while the main objective is a transition to defence-oriented military doctrines on both sides," Jean-Pierre Chevenement said.

Bessmertnykh, French Ambassador Discuss Lebanon

LD0304124189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1103 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow 3 April (TASS)—Matters relating to the situation that has developed recently in Lebanon were discussed here today during a conversation between Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Yves Pagniez, the French ambassador to the Soviet Union. The meeting took place at the request of the French diplomat.

During the conversation, it was stressed in particular that the USSR and France regard a halt to the armed clashes in Lebanon as essential and call on the parties embroiled in the conflict to demonstrate maximum restraint and make an effort to settle the crisis through political means in order to keep Lebanon unified and independent while maintaining its territorial integrity.

Prospects for Long-Term USSR-UK Ties 'Good'

LD0504111789 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Political contacts between the Soviet Union and Britain at summit level have a long and fruitful record. Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to London, however, and his talks with Margaret Thatcher will not merely further the tradition. The uniqueness of the upcoming Soviet-British summit is that it will be held in a new political climate.

This climate has taken shape as a result of sweeping changes which have taken place in the international arena in recent years. One should not, of course, attribute credit for that to any one nation, but the link between the changes and Soviet perestroyka is clear.

Margaret Thatcher was virtually the first among prominent Western leaders to become aware of the advent of a new stage in the development of Soviet society. The conclusions which she already drew following her first meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev and which were subsequently confirmed played a considerable role in shaping the West's reaction to what is now referred to as the "Gorbachev challenge".

The essence of the challenge is in its non-confrontational nature. This is, rather, an invitation to take a fresh look at the present-day interdependent and constantly changing world. This also means a package of proposals on the basis of which a policy congruent to the new world condition can be built. This ultimately means a renunciation of claims to the consummate truth and hence a readiness to take into account the position of the other side as much as possible.

One should say that Soviet-British interaction has already yielded quite good results. The two countries have sufficiently broad areas of accord on such issues as reduction in strategic arms, the preservation of the ABM Treaty, the elimination of chemical weapons, and confidence-building measures. Judging by the first round of talks on conventional arms and armed forces in Europe, there is substance for a constructive discussion in this field as well.

In general, it seems, European issues will figure importantly at the talks in London. Behind the current issues, which, as was illustrated by the Vienna meeting, find increasingly successful solutions, it is essential to see broader trends of European development.

Comparing the Soviet and British visions of the future of Europe and the search for points of contact between them should prove fruitful. The potential and traditions in this respect are great. But there are a lot of problems, too: how to make the established forms of cooperation more effective and how to establish new ones.

In the Soviet Union, there is a belief that prospects are good for long-term Soviet-British relations.

Soviet Officials Meet Press on USSR-UK Summit

LD0404171789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1623 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] London, 4 Apr (TASS)—Vladimir Voronkov, TASS correspondent reports: A press conference took place here on the topic "New Political Thinking and the USSR's Foreign Policy," at which the Soviet representatives, who arrived in London in connection with the coming Soviet-British summit, answered correspondents' questions.

Commenting on the recent statement by the UK foreign and defense secretaries concerning the "NATO contribution" to the change in the USSR's approach to solving international problems, Academician Ye. M. Primakov, director of the International Economic Relations Administration, stressed: NATO is not a center of the world or the universe. The Soviet Union does not consider that all events revolve around the North Atlantic bloc. This would be a primitive and an incorrect view.

Speaking about the coming talks between the Soviet and British leaders, N.V. Shishlin, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized that both countries should move forward along the path of cooperation and trust. In the political sense we need to realize that Britain is not an island and that the Soviet Union is not a giant invulnerable mass of land, but that it is a fragile though large part of the present-day world, he noted.

Petrovskiy, UK Envoy Discuss Gorbachev Visit

LD3003152989 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy today received the ambassador of Great Britain to the USSR, Rodric Braithwaite.

The two diplomats discussed some issues in connection with the forthcoming visit to Great Britain by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Britons Welcome Gorbachev Visit, Closer Ties

PM0404143989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS correspondents A. Biryukov and V. Voronkov dispatch: "There Have Never Been Such Hopes. London Awaits Its Eminent Guest"]

[Excerpt] London—[passage omitted] April is not only the month when spring imperiously comes into its own. This month is also linked with an important foreign policy milestone. As is well known, Britain is to receive an eminent visitor—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This visit arouses particularly warm feelings in many Britons. So many times, during conversations with acquaintances and strangers these days and when reading by no means unequivocal articles in the extremely well-informed and skilled British press, you can see over and again the heightened interest in our country, its leadership, and the course it is implementing.

"Soviet topics" have taken up a firm place in British newspapers. Not a day passes without the reputable or, as people say here, the "quality" newspapers' publishing two or three articles on our country, ranging from current affairs reports to features and major analytical articles. Some readers may not believe this, but one gets the impression that the leading British newspapers have devoted the same amount of attention to our country's election of people's deputies as, for instance, to their own parliamentary elections. People here cannot recall such interest.

Although the articles published are by no means unequivocal and their tone ranges broadly, one thing is plain: Events in the Soviet Union leave no one cold. It is no coincidence that the DAILY TELEGRAPH, well known for its right-wing viewpoints, recently admitted in an editorial commentary: "Many people in the West are profoundly overjoyed at the prospect of establishing friendly ties with Russia—something that has not existed their entire lives."

The shrouds of mistrust and suspicion are gradually dissolving. The words "glasnost," "restructuring," "detente," "trust," and "cooperation" applied to East-West relations are already seen as normal, if not commonplace. Moreover, from time to time first one then another newspaper recommends individual officials or whole establishments and departments to take a leaf out of the Soviet Union's book a little more often.

We would be dissembling if we said everything was going smoothly in either East-West relations or British-Soviet relations. No, there are still many questions that need a serious exchange of opinions, a quest for compromise, and difficult discussions. Despite the important changes in international relations, many of the complexities brought about by decades of "cold war" still exist. British official circles' desire to celebrate the 40th anniversary of NATO's creation with pomp is among these.

However, the bellicose sentiments mingled with mistrust and suspicion of the "threat from the East" prompted by a British prime minister's speech in the American city of Fulton [as published] are clearly a thing of the past. People have grown tired of talking about the coming war, but they have not tired of opposing it. That is why a long, living chain of people stretched from the country's Defence Ministry to the Ministry of Health on one of the days of "celebration" marking NATO's anniversary. It symbolized an appeal to redistribute state appropriations from defense to peaceful sectors.

During the Soviet leader's stay in Britain dozens of rallies, demonstrations, and concerts will be held in its capital. They are being prepared by the country's largest antiwar organization—the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—and will be held under the following slogan: "Mikhail Gorbachev, We Welcome You! Londoners Also Advocate Disarmament!"

Finnish Center Party Delegation Visits USSR

PM0304112789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Ties Developing"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the Finnish Center Party, a delegation of Finnish Center Party workers headed by General Secretary S. Kaariainen visited Moscow from 28 March through 1 April.

The Finnish centrists showed great interest in the CPSU's activity to implement the concept of the new political thinking in international politics and expressed support for the idea of creating an "all-European home." The guests were also familiarized through specific examples with the progress of implementing reform of the political system in Soviet society, with economic transformations within the USSR, and with the resolution of economic problems in our country.

Meetings and conversations were held in the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, the CPSU Central Committee International Department, the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, scientific establishments, and enterprises.

Greek Foreign Ministry Official Meets Polyakov

LD0304192189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1459 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Athens, 3 Apr (TASS)—Greek-Soviet consultations took place at the Greek Foreign Ministry today. Taking part on the Soviet side was V.P. Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium, head of the Near East and North Africa Department, and on the Greek side, D. Konstantinou, head of the Fifth Political Department of the Greek Foreign Ministry.

There was an exchange of views on questions concerning a Near East settlement.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further Reportage on Gorbachev Cuba Visit

Lenin Memorial Ceremony

LD0404172689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The next report from Havana was received last night via the space communications system.

[Begin unidentified correspondent video recording] A sacred place on Cuban soil—the first memorial in the Western hemisphere to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Fidel Castro, and those accompanying them have come here to pay their profound respects to the memory of the leader of the world proletariat. [passage omitted] The anthems of the Republic of Cuba and the Soviet Union are played. The ceremony of laying a wreath, a wreath of cut flowers. The inscription on the ribbon reads "To Great Lenin from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev." [passage omitted] Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva lays flowers at the monument. [video shows Lenin monument; Gorbachev, Castro, and party at the monument; Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Kamentsev are present. Gorbachev lays wreath, Raisa lays bouquet]

Fidel Castro Ruz and Vilma Espin are telling Mikhail Sergeyevich and Raisa Maksimovna about how the Lenin monument was built and opened 5 years ago during the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban Revolution. [passage omitted] [video shows Castro talking to Gorbachev and pointing to parts of the monument] [end recording]

Gorbachev, Castro Tour Havana

LD0404212189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Havana by correspondent Igor Fusenko 4 April; recorded—Castro, other Cubans' remarks in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpts] Comrades, we have just received a report from our special correspondents in the Cuban capital:

[I. Fesunenko, identified by screen caption] The latest event in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's packed and varied Cuban itinerary is a visit to a microbrigade. [passage omitted]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, accompanied by Fidel Castro, took up an invitation to visit one such brigade in the Arroyo Naranjo Precinct.

The builders and the inhabitants of nearby precincts gave their Soviet visitor an ecstatic welcome. He was invited onto a building site, where an animated and avid conversation ensued. They understood one another perfectly: The construction of houses for people and the improvement of the people's living conditions is a concern common to us, so there's definitely something to talk about and there's useful experience to be exchanged.

[Woman] There are 215 builders here on the construction site.

[Gorbachev] Ah, on the site. And how many women?

[Woman] There are 89 women at the moment actually on site, and there are 198 women in all.

[Castro] And how many in all are in your brigade?

[Woman] In all there are 315 people.

[Gorbachev] How long have you, your collective, been in existence?

[Woman] One year and 4 months.

[Gorbachev] And what have you managed to do?

[Woman] We've managed. There are 49 apartments in the building. We've managed to build 40 of these apartments.

[Gorbachev] Is it to be your building? And are you in good spritis?

[Woman] Very good spirits. We are all very pleased and happy. Not just us builders, but the whole population. The whole population is helping.

[Gorbachev] And, before this, what was your job?

[Woman] I am a technician. Repairing telex equipment. [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Are you in favor of this, yes? Is it good that these houses have started to be built?

[Woman] We have to do all the finishing touches, and we are doing them.

[Gorbachev] It's good that you're doing all this for yourselves. It's very good.

[Fesunenko] Comrade Gorbachev spent around an hour with the Arroyo Naranjo microbrigade. Then, to the sound of kind farewells and wishes, he continued on his tour of Havana. The Soviet visitor is continuing to become acquainted with the working life of the Cuban capital, and to meet Cuban friends. [video shows official convoy of cars, chanting, flag-and hand-waving Cubans; Gorbachev in shirtsleeves walks with Castro in combat fatigues. The two leaders stand chatting to the people. Gorbachev looks relaxed. Castro fidgets, opens and closes his mouth, attempts to speak, wags his finger at Gorbachev, but is not acknowledged. Convoy of cars seen departing].

Talks, Meetings Continue

LD0404174189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1642 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] [No dateline as received] Friendly meetings and conversations between M.S. Gorbachev and F. Castro were held in Havana on 3-4 April.

Taking part in them were members of the Cuban leadership, J.C. Aguilera, Cuban ambassador to the USSR; and comrades E.A. Shevardnadze; A.N. Yakovlev; V.M. Kamentsev; and Yu.V. Petrov, USSR ambassador to Cuba; who are accompanying the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on his trip.

M.S. Gorbachev and F. Castro informed each other in detail about the state of affairs in their own countries and the tasks which the two communist parties are now working on.

The main emphasis was placed upon the processes of restructuring in the USSR and rectification in Cuba. The interlocutors agreed that socialism is now at a crucial and very responsible stage of its development, when many problems of the life and activity of society are being posed in a new way, when there is the opportunity and the need to open up and reveal more fully the humanist and creative potential of the socialist system.

An interesting conversation arose around the problem of improving production relations in the countryside. M.S. Gorbachev spoke about the decisions of the March CPSU Central Committee plenum, stressing that they go beyond the framework of agriculture and place on the agenda the broader matter of reconstructing the relations of socialist ownership. To put it briefly, the idea is that the peasants should feel they are the complete owners of the land. We believe that, in combination with modern equipment and technology, and with the measures being taken regarding the social development of the countryside, the food problem, which is an acute one for the country, and the population's food requirements, can be solved quickly.

F. Castro spoke about the way agricultural production is organized in Cuba. It would only be possible to manage the small peasant farms, which were in existence in the prerevolution period, at the price of using heavy manual labor. This was, in fact, a variant of slavery. The creation of collective farms, thanks to which the opportunity to use modern technology appeared, was therefore of enormous importance. This led to a fundamental change in the social position of the peasantry. Along with this, the need to improve economic relations still remains in Cuban conditions, too.

The participants in the discussions also informed each other about other developments in the USSR and Cuban economies. The result of this part of the talks was the idea of the necessity of using the widest possible and the most varied forms of socialist development. Life and practice have shown on more than one occasion what damage can be done by attempts to lead social process into the procrustean bed of sole decisions and all the more so, to copy them blindly without taking into account the specific features of each country. The true wealth of socialist theory and practice lies in the breadth of the range of the forms and methods of social progress which are being applied.

F. Castro showed an interest in the course of political reform in the USSR. M.S. Gorbachev spoke about how the elections of peoples' deputies proceeded and about the next tasks of the reform—the optimization of international relations, the development of local self-management and economy, the renewal of legislation, and the consolidation of justice. A committed conversation on the role of the communist party developed. We, emphasized M.S. Gorbachev, proceed from the Leninist idea, according to which the party must function as the political leadership, without taking upon itself administrative function. The USSR will be implementing its decisions through communists elected into the representative bodies of people's power.

The Soviet and Cuban leaders agreed to step up the exchange of experience and the joint study of problems of common interest.

International issues occupied a major place at the talks. The interlocutors appraised the general course of recent world events and their views coincided. Real opportunities have now opened up for international relations to be shifted on to a new path, the path of disarmament, the promotion of development, and the joint tackling of the global problems of the present day. In this connection, F. Castro expressed Cuba's full support for the new political thinking put forward by the USSR. We, he said, evaluate world development and its prospects in the same concepts and notions that were set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations in December last year. The humanist nature of the socialist states corresponds fully with the striving for a lasting and reliable peace. If one is speaking about the military efforts of our country, then they are proportionate to the threat of aggression which has hung over Cuba all these years.

The participants in the conversation paid great attention to the urgent problem of settling regional conflicts. They expressed satisfaction with the prospect of an end to the armed aggression against Angola, and of the declaration of Namibia's independence. Together with our Angolan friends, we have shown good will, and intend to fulfil precisely the obligations we have undertaken, the Cuban comrades stressed. The same should be expected of the other parties to the agreement. There should not be a repeat here of the development of events now occurring in Afghanistan.

The matter of relations of the USSR and Cuba with the United States was touched on in the talks. F. Castro noted that Cuba has always been and continues to be ready to normalize relations with the United States. However, we have so far not seen a corresponding desire on Washington's part. Unfortunately, the recent statements made there on these issues were, as ever, harsh in tone, not in keeping with the spirit of the trends which are currently making themselves felt in the world general situation.

M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that the USSR emphasizes its relations with the United States in resolving disarmament problems and other issues of concern to the peoples of both countries and the world community alike. Washington has, as is known, recently been continuing the analysis of the current situation, including the prospects of restructuring in the USSR. Let them analyze, M.S. Gorbachev said. On our part we are not sitting twiddling our thumbs, and we will make use of the time to analyze the situation jointly with the allied socialist countries, to work out new approaches to world politics, and with Western European and other states. In this context, the forthcoming trip to Beijing and the talks with the PRC leadership, the visits to Great Britain, the FRG, and France are of important significance.

The situation in Central America was examined in detail in the course of the talks. It was ascertained that it is impossible to solve the acute problems that have arisen here by military means. What is needed above all is that all the parties to the conflict situation in Nicaragua and El Salvador should acknowledge that a peaceful settlement in the region to everyone's liking can be attained through political means alone. The Nicaraguan leadership has already acknowledged this, and is acting in this spirit, both inside the country and outside it. The most important thing now is to make it possible for the Central American states to safeguard a peaceful settlement themselves with the aid of the Latin American community. A readiness of the Soviet Union and Cuba to do everything in their power to this end was expressed.

IN the course of the talks and personal meetings between the Soviet and Cuban leaders, satisfaction was expressed with the state of Soviet-Cuban cooperation and the key directions upon which attention should be focused in the future were drawn up. Here, too, the consensus was that it is necessary to elevate the level of interaction, and to make it more effective and more in keeping with modern concepts and possibilities.

M.S. Gorbachev and F. Castro expressed profound satisfaction with the exchange of views that had taken place. Our conversations, M.S. Gorbachev said, again confirm the already known truth: No matter how much information you receive, or how many telegrams or letters you exchange—nothing is capable of replacing personal communication. Yes, Fidel agreed. We gave each other answers to many questions; together we found new, important solutions and we part even greater friends.

Gorbachev Addresses Cuban National Assembly

Castro Introduces Gorbachev

LD0504100889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0737 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Castro Speech in Cuban National Assembly"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Dear Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev!

Dear comrades of the Soviet delegation!

Esteemed guests!

Comrade deputies of the National Assembly!

I thought that there was to be just one speech today, by our dear guest Comrade Gorbachev. I am faced with the task of introducing him to the National Assembly—if Comrade Gorbachev needs to be introduced at all. And so I would like not to limit myself to a speech called for by protocol, but to reflect on this event. The presence of Comrade Gorbachev and of the Soviet delegation at this session is a great honor for us.

This is Comrade Gorbachev's first visit to Cuba and—what is even more important—his first to Latin America. I think that the efforts being undertaken by the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people in the name of peace truly have no precedent and, one can say, are the most exact embodiment of the glittering ideas of Lenin, ones he expressed following the victory of the October revolution. One can say without exaggeration that these efforts have been fruitful, because for the first time in the history of the world, and for the first time since the creation of nuclear weapons, there has been a reduction in nuclear weapons.

There is no need to reflect a great deal on the immense risk to which mankind has been subjected in recent years as a result of the constant threat of nuclear catastrophe, which could occur even by mistake. A most important step has been taken in the direction of nuclear disarmament. There is still a considerable way to go. We must take account of the Soviet Union's concept of total elimination of nuclear weapons in the hope that by the year 2000, the world will live without nuclear weapons. It would be fair to recognize the immense personal merits of Comrade Gorbachev in this battle, and his intelligent, flexible, and courageous policy in this area, which have made it possible to overcome gigantic obstacles. I think that both the Soviet Union and the CPSU deserve the recognition of mankind for these efforts.

This does not mean that we are already living in a peaceful world. As you know, the Soviet Union understands peace as safeguarding guarantees for all countries—great and small. We know what is troubling the Third World countries, and we share their concern.

At the same time as the Soviet Union is adhering precisely to the spirit and the letter of the Geneva Accords, the United States is continuing to supply arms to the opposition and counterrevolutionary forces in Afghanistan. We have just secured a very important step in Southwest Africa: An agreement has been signed between Angola, South Africa, and Cuba. However, we can see that the United States is continuing to aid UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

The Central American countries are making an effort to seek a political solution to problems. However, we can see the way the United States is continuing, as before, to support the Contras in Honduras, as a means of exerting pressure on the government and people of Nicaragua.

The United States has openly declared its intention of continuing with its hostile policy toward our country, and this compels us to make great efforts to strengthen our defense capability.

It the the task of all our peoples to struggle in the United Nations to ensure that imperialism respects the independence of the Third World countries and the principles of noninterference in the affairs of other states, and ceases to supply arms to forces acting against existing governments. We, and also the peoples of the Third World and the international public, are faced with the job of cooperating with the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace—a struggle that calls forth great sympathy and support throughout the planet.

For the first time in international relations, the Soviet Union has in precise and specific terms linked the struggle for peace with development. For the first time it has been stated that it is essential to halt the arms race in order to channel a proportion of the resources into development aims, and in particular into tackling the problem of the foreign debt of the Third World countries. On this issue the peoples of the Third World have received the support of the Soviet Union—a support that was reflected in Comrade Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations.

Recently the United States put forward a new plan to solve the problems of foreign debt—the so-called "Brady plan." This is yet another deception, a dreadful fraud. Experts in the international economics field say that at best the "Brady plan" will help to reduce foreign debts by 20 percent. The only thing that can solve the problem of foreign debt of Latin American countries and of the Third world is a 100 percent reduction of it.

Comrade Gorbachev's activities in his own country are directed toward the development and further improvement of socialism.

We, for our part, are making efforts in order to make our labor more effective and to overcome difficulties and mistakes.

All kinds of theories and speculation have been current among many politicians and certain journalists regarding Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Cuba. I do not know the origins of these rumors about a crisis in relations between the USSR and Cuba, and about Comrade Gorbachev and myself falling out.

These are illusions nurtured by certain people. We do not have any disagreements with Soviet Union, neither in international policy nor in regard to what each is doing in their own country. They are based on an oversimplified analysis of the form in which the Soviet Union is conducting its process of restructuring and the form in which we are conducting what we call our process of rectification. In essence, both sides and both parties proceed from the same priniciples, the principles of applying Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of each country.

How could one suppose that two countries so different from one another in territory, population, history, culture, and in problems which exist, should employ absolutely identical formulas for solving them? The October Revolution is more than 70 years old, while the Cuban Revolution has only just celebrated its 30th anniversary.

F. Castro went on to dwell on differences in the historical and socioeconomic development of the two countries.

I think, he continued, that the point of the new political thinking lies in its firm defense of the principle according to which every country employs the formula which suits its conditions for the construction of socialism. Thus, absolute respect for the sovereign will of every people and every country—that is the golden principle of Marxism-Leninism.

Our talks, F. Castro observed, have gone splendidly. They have been fraternal and respectful. One of the journalists asked me how the talks were going, and I could find only one word for it—"like in a family." That is fully in accordance with the truth. I can repeat what I have already said: My meetings with Comrade Gorbachev have always made a deep impression on me, but also on the comrades from our leadership whom I have told about them. He has never put any distance between us, he has never behaved toward us as a mentor, and we have never had the slightest feeling that we were being dealt with from a hegemonist position.

The Cuban leader highly appraised the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and Cuba signed during the visit. This is the first time that such a treaty has been signed in the history of our relations, he noted. Our relations in all spheres are developing well to the utmost, and of course one could not today fail to recall the immense aid which the Soviet Union has rendered us in the course of the 30 years which have passed since the revolution. Our people are ready for any sacrifice to defend the revolution, but we would not have achieved the successes which fill our people with pride without constant and close cooperation with the Soviet Union. And while today we possess a level of security necessary for the protection of our freedom and independence, this is also because of the generous assistance of the Soviet Union.

Our gratitude to the people, the Communist Party, and the leadership of the Soviet Union will be eternal.

Long live eternal friendship between the Soviet Union and Cuba!

Gorbachev Speech

LD0504105289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0245 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Havana, 5 April (TASS)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who is in Cuba on an official, friendly visit, has made a speech to deputies of Cuba's National Assembly (parliament). He said:

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro,

Esteemed deputies of the National Assembly,

Addressing the supreme body of authority of the Republic of Cuba, I would like, first of all, to convey on behalf of the Soviet people heartfelt fraternal greetings and best wishes to the heroic Cuban people.

I'm greatly thankful for the hospitable reception accorded to me and my comrades wherever we went. Thanks to all who contributed even a small part of the warmth to this unforgettable show of solidarity and friendship between our parties, countries, and peoples.

My visit to your country had been postponed due to an earthquake in Armenia. The terrible calamity that befell the Armenian people has generated an unprecedented wave of sympathy. One can say that the entire world has extended its helping hand. Our Cuban friends were among the first to have responded to the tragedy by sending their most valuable possession, their own blood. Please accept our gratitude for this manifestation of solidarity.

As chance would have it, this is my first visit to Cuba. Therefore my impressions of everything that I see and hear here are especially strong—impressions of meetings with Havana residents, of seeing various aspects of your life—work, political, and social activity.

We in the Soviet Union know well why the Cuban people rose to revolution, what has enabled Cuba to repulse armed intervention, surmount economic blockade, and overcome the constant and arduous pressure from outside.

The freedom island has held out because it is inhabited by proud and courageous people fully committed to the struggle for independence, for the right to live as they choose. Because the revolution has brought forth to lead the country a party that aims to attain lofty humanistic ideals, the ideals of socialism and serving the people. And lastly, because, by the will of history, it has been led by one of the most outstanding revolutionaries of the 20th century, by a man of a legendary destiny—Comrade Fidel.

The working people of Cuba and all its friends throughout the world this year solemnly observed the 30th anniversary since the festive Havana welcomed the young heroes back from the mountains with the long-awaited freedom for their people. Thirty years is a major landmark, a milestone making it possible to assess properly the path traversed, the entire significance of the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban revolution had an immense moral impact on world public opinion. In the depressing atmosphere of the late 1950s when the winds of the cold war continued to rage in the world, when reactionary forces were doing their utmost to halt social progress, strangle the national liberation movement, and preserve dictatorial regimes, your revolution showed that love for one's motherland, freedom, and justice cannot be extinguished in people's hearts.

The words Granma, Moncada, and Sierra Maestra were on everybody's lips. Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Camilo Cienfuegos became models for young people. The battle cry of the Cuban revolutionaries "Patria O Muerte, Venceremos" was glorified in verse and song and echoed by freedom fighters around the world.

The Cuban example helped the tide of national liberation to reach unheard-of heights and to come crashing down on the bastions of national oppression and humiliation.

The Cubans earned the reputation of a magnanimous and responsive nation with a avid sense of internationalist duty.

Your path was not strewn with roses, you had to work in arduous conditions, holding a tool in one hand and a weapon in the other. But even these conditions helped reveal the humanistic direction of the revolution—

everything it possessed was given first of all to children, to young people, to the health and education of the public. These and other features of the Cuban experience make it an original and important part of the global experience of socialist construction.

Everybody knows what forces and resources were used by the enemies of Cuba in their attempts to enslave it again, what amount of threats, insults, and slanders were directed against it. But everything was in vain. The accomplishments of the Cuban people, who embarked on the road of revolutionary change will go down in history as a brilliant chapter of the working people's struggle for a better future.

The sympathies and compassion of millions of champions of freedom around the world were on Cuba's side.

It enjoyed consistent support of the socialist community.

We take pride in the fact that through all these years the Soviet Union and Cuba stood together.

Cooperation between our countries and Soviet-Cuban ties are stable and embrace practically all the main spheres of social development. They rest on principles of equality and are notable for respect for independence, awareness of mutual responsibility, and the need for internationalist mutual assistance.

Life has shown that the fundamental significance of these principles is in no way belittled by differences in approaches to one or another issue connected with specifics of our countries' historic development, and national cultures, the peculiarity of the tasks that face them, and their international status.

Indeed, we and you can take pride in our achievements. We have accomplished a great deal. And the most precious link that binds our peoples together is their sincere friendship, profound mutual affection, and genuine interest in each other's endeavours and concerns.

From the National Assembly podium I would like to declare that the Soviet Union cherishes its friendship with socialist Cuba. Our solidarity with you, dear comrades, is not subject to time-serving fluctuations. We are prepared to continue developing Soviet-Cuban relations. For that, as we see it, you and we have most ample opportunities.

It is our hope that the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed today will serve this purpose well.

Our treaty seals what has already passed the test of time, and opens up fresh vistas before Soviet-Cuban cooperation in politics, the economy, and culture.

And that is good. As life moves ahead, new demands are made on the quality of our interaction. This applies particularly to economic contacts—they should be more dynamic and effective and bring greater returns for both our countries, our peoples.

Speaking of the present day, increased strictness, and discipline are absolutely essential to ensure that mutual commitments are fulfilled on time and in an adequate manner.

We have the common understanding that joint efforts should be directed to a greater extent at meeting popular needs, and at developing everything related to the social sphere. The natural conditions and economies of both countries allow them to supplement each other better in a number of important fields.

Our two countries have a common interest in tapping the enormous potential inherent in all areas of Soviet-Cuban relations—a goal that is truly worthy of our efforts.

For example, joint ventures, companies, and research and development centers could be very efficient.

Cooperative arrangements in the mechanical engineering sector, first of all, in the manufacture of modern instruments, radio and television equipment, and household appliances, are especially promising. They would help Cuba to become more closely involved in the division of labour within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and also in world economic ties, including those in Latin America.

Comrades,

Over these two days Fidel and I discussed at length future prospects of the world and of socialism.

Human civilization is at the crossroads. It is moving as it were from one phase to the next. One cannot yet predict what its new image will be like. But one thing is already clear, namely, that today success will come to those who keep pace with the time and draw appropriate conclusions from the changes produced by the advent of high technologies and the decisive role of science and intellectual effort.

We are convinced that the inherent potential of socialism is limitless. But it does not materialize automatically, of itself. At every historic stage, it is essential to engage in a creative rethinking of reality, to understand the dialectics of development, and to shape policies consistent with the imperatives of the time. This is something that we learned from our own experiences.

Our great country and its industrious and selfless people, who have been destined to blaze the socialist trail, have had tremendous influence on the entire course of world development in the 20th century. We have a mighty industry, the possibilities of our science and engineering are great, and the country boasts such an incalculable wealth in the high education levels and professional skills of its people.

We are confronted with a stark alternative. Either we continue moving down the old, much travelled track—toward even greater stagnation and the economic, social, and even political dead end with the ensuring risk of being pushed to the sidelines of progress, or we embark on an arduous but vitally important path of our society's revolutionary renewal, of imparting to socialism a new qualitative dimension that would meet the highest standards of humanism and progress.

A crucial aspect of this policy is radical economic reform aiming to make the economy responsive to people's needs and change man's status and role in social production.

This purpose is being served by the consistent implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to labor input, the elimination of social parasitism, the transfer of enterprises to cost accounting, and the promotion of leaseholding, cooperative projects, and other economic forms stimulating people's creative activity.

Supplying people's immediate needs is among our major strategic tasks. The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee recently held a plenum to discuss issues of developing agriculture. In our view, we have been able to work out an agrarian policy that will enable us, as early as within the next few years, to ensure stable food supplies to the population.

We are updating structural policies and reallocating funds in favor of the light industry and the manufacture of consumer goods. We have lately been able to markedly accelerate housing construction, although it will take time to provide well-appointed housing to everyone.

After launching economic reform, we very soon came to realize that headway along these lines will be impossible without reorganizing political institutions. Above all, we want the party, in accordance with Lenin's concept, to fully play the role of society's political vanguard.

Then, we need to revive soviets, our local governing councils, as the bodies of popular power and self-government, create a socialist rule-of-law state, and democratize every aspect of public life.

Finally, we emphasize much greater accountability of executive agencies for the practical implementation of policies and decisions adopted.

We are now completing the first phase of political reform, which has involved reorganizing central government, we have just had elections which were marked by lively debates, competition among different candidates, and a self- critical analysis of everything we have and haven't been able to do.

We are looking forward to the first National Congress of People's Deputies, which will map out guidelines for the country's foreign and home policies for the coming years and elect a new Supreme Soviet.

In short, a great deal has changed in our country. Those who have been following developments in the Soviet Union or have visited there know how the whole atmosphere of public life has changed and how much freer people feel. Factory workers, farmers, and intellectuals are increasingly getting involved in politics and eager to take a direct part in resolving problems.

This is gratifying, for the overriding purpose of all our work to update society is, in the final analysis, precisely in making certain that man feels completely in command in production and in the state.

Political reform is, of course, only beginning. We have a lot of work ahead to harmonize interethnic relations, expand the rights of our constituent republics, carry out judicial reform, and substantiallly change the role of local government.

What counts most is that even at its current stage reform has revealed the great positive thrust inherent in the changes now under way. But we do not take a simplistic view of things. Impatience, acting on impulse, and maximalism are making themselves felt. Among a great many useful initiatives and valuable proposals, there are quite a few which are contentious or even unacceptable.

And that is understandable as people lack experience and political culture and this tells. But people are learning and we can see how, with every passing day, they are increasingly asserting themselves, how their civic positions are strengthening and how they are learning to tackle issues in the environment of democratization and glasnost.

This is the gist of what we are currently working at. We do not view our approaches and solutions as a universal remedy. On the contrary, problems may be similar, but each party tackles them independently, proceeding from its own ideas and the distinctive features of its particular country. These diverse and unorthodox approaches together form the international experience of socialism, helping all of us to move forward faster. I would like to stress that I fully agree with what Fidel said from this podium on the same issue.

The Soviet Communist Party is studying how fraternal parties are acting most carefully and seeking to take account of friends' experiences in its own work. And we certainly put a high value on the interest and support shown everywhere to changes under way in our country.

We are fully aware also of our international responsibility for the fate of restructuring. We understand well that both the international prestige of socialism and its impact on world processes will depend in many ways on how things work out in our country. I would say that we are simply doomed to the success of restructuring because we have no right to allow a different outcome.

Dear comrades, the development of individual countries nowadays hinges on the international situation to an incomparably greater extent than ever before. The influence of this factor is not, of course, felt by different nations in the same way. Admittedly, there are countries that are less affected by changes in the international atmosphere.

The Soviet Union and Cuba do not belong among them. Whether this is good or bad is another matter. But, as it happens, both states are actively involved in international developments and are, of course, vitally concerned that the international situation should be favorable for them to accomplish the domestic tasks they have set themselves.

Fidel and I have had an indepth exchange of opinions on a wide range of international issues. I should say that, as before, the Soviet Union and Cuba have a common approach to key international issues. We share a desire to have lasting peace, ward off the nuclear threat, affirm the unconditional right of nations to choose their own destiny, and transform international economic relations on a fair basis.

The issue is how to achieve these goals and whether there are the essential objective conditions without which even the most vigorous efforts and good will cannot secure the desired results.

We believe that there are such objective conditions in the world now. Moreover, over the past 2 years a breakthrough has taken place, making the situation healthier. The world horizon has cleared, although clouds over large parts of the international political arena have not yet scattered and there still are forces stubbornly advocating outdated stereotypes, confrontational approaches, and methods of power politics.

And yet, it has proved possible over a comparatively short time and perhaps for the first time since World War II to make headway in solving acute problems that have for decades been poisoning international life. Impressive progress has been achieved in lessening the nuclear threat, settling military conflicts politically, and strengthening trust between states belonging to different social systems and political alliances.

Our meetings with many Western statesmen have demonstrated a possibility to move further along the path of promoting detente, enhancing trust, and removing international tension.

This is all the more essential as the pace of the positive processes does not yet meet the requirements of the times. Threats to humanity and to the very conditions of its existence remain. This is why it is imperative to double and even treble joint efforts to fend off the storm clouds. This is why it is imperative to overcome disunity and concentrate maximum efforts on tackling vital global problems.

Looking for ways out of the present dangerous situation, we have arrived at what is now known everywhere as new political thinking. This concept has developed as a result of an ever deeper analysis of the international situation and a generalization of our experience in foreign policy. This has been a mixed experience.

On the one hand, it has shown how difficult it is to secure concerted action in conditions when there is a great diversity of forces acting in the international arena. Each of them, whether we speak of social systems or states, mass movements or political parties, pursues above all its own aims. Partially they coincide and partially they clash. Nobody and nothing will be able to stop the ideological and political struggle stemming from the pluralism of interests and convictions.

On the other hand, the experience of recent times has demonstrated that despite contradictions and disagreements existing in the world, it has been possible to move the barometer's needle several notches closer to "clear." Consequently, the zone of common, concurrent interests is wide enough and can serve as the basis for joint action on a worldwide scale.

We are convinced that relying on this real interdependence of interests, it is possible and essential to move further, step by step, reorganizing the entire system of international relations.

This requires the political will of all its participants, a will based on a kind of philosophy of universal human solidarity.

Firstly, it means the priority of universally shared interests and the recognition of the hard fact that on the threshold of the 21st century the security of each state in every aspect—political, economic, ecological, and military—can be ensured reliably only in a system of general international security.

Secondly, freedom of choice, the inadmissibility of dictates and interference in international affairs, and the recognition by every member of the world community of the rightful interests of all the other countries, and of the need to settle arising problems by peaceful, political means.

Thirdly, assistance for development and the recognition of the need for joint action to overcome underdevelopment, close the gap between developed and developing nations, establish a new and just international economic order, and help the underprivileged.

Fourthly, joint responsibility for preserving nature and civilization and the determination to do everything to avert nuclear catastrophe, arrest moral degradation, and ensure the progress of the entire human family.

These ideas have inspired the Soviet plan for a nuclear-free world which will be safe for all, a plan outlined in my address to the United Nations General Assembly last December. The same ideas have formed the basis of numerous proposals—multilateral and unilateral—by socialist states in Europe and Asia.

The program for a new economic order and disarmament for development, which has been put forward by developing nations with Cuba's active participation, and initiatives by a number of non-aligned and neutral states in the West and by the socialist international have much in common with them.

It is certainly neither simple nor easy for new thinking to affirm itself. The traditions, stereotypes, and habits of the past are too strong. We can see the difficulty of assimilating new thinking in the example of some Western figures who lapse every now and then into power politics and attempts to foist their will on others.

Our approach is different. Let every nation follow the course it has chosen of its own sovereign will, and may history and life itself judge which course is preferrable. We have trust in the immense potential of socialism, while the proponents of capitalism remain committed to their system. But this need not prevent us from finding solutions to international problems on the basis of jointly shared fundamental human values.

Settling regional conflicts is currently the most urgent problem. Analyzing their causes, it is easy to see that not infrequently they result from outside interference and attempts to prevent nations from making their independent choice.

Attempts are made to justify actions of this kind by security interests, invocations of some political or ideological values, and principles often formulated as doctrines. And so I would like to state clearly that we are resolutely opposed to any theories and doctrines justifying the export of revolution or counter-revolution, all forms of foreign interference in the affairs of sovereign states. Existing regional conflicts can be settled and the emergence of new ones in the future avoided only on this basis.

Guided by precisely this approach, the Soviet Union has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan. We scrupulously, to the day, honored the commitments we assumed at the Geneva talks, and we have every right to demand that the same attitude be shown by the other parties to that agreement.

Regrettably, contrary to the commitments it has assumed, Pakistan is engaged in direct armed interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, depriving the Afghan people of the possibility to decide their own future. The United States is not averse to interfering in the Afghan conflict either.

It is true that those who thought that the Republic of Afghanistan would collapse the day after the withdrawal of Soviet troops have begun to recognize that they underestimated its strengths and possibilities. But if they draw from this a conclusion opposite to the one which logically follows from the existing situation, if shipments of arms to opposition groups and Pakistan's and others' interference continue to increase, this may have countless negative consequences for Afghanistan and Pakistan and for the entire development of the international situation.

We are firmly convinced that the international community can and must manifest, in this case, a responsible approach to the course of events. The idea of international assistance to ensure a peaceful settlement of the conflict on the basis of agreement between its direct participants has assumed even greater relevance. We in the Soviet Union believe that an Afghan settlement is a touchstone for the entire world community as other regional problems are to be resolved as well. We hope that a constructive approach will prevail.

There are now also hopes for an end to another regional conflict—that in South-West Africa. The Soviet Union has helped Angolan patriots in their struggle against colonialists and has not left them defenseless in the face of aggression. And so we have particular cause to rejoice if this long-suffering country finally attains peace and security.

I reserve special praise for the valor of Cuban internationalists who have for many years helped defend the independence and territorial integrity of Angola. Now this noble historic mission is nearing completion.

It is of fundamental importance that not only Angola's independence has been protected but that there has also opened up a real prospect for doing away with the shameful heritage of the colonial period—the enslavement of Namibia. The people of that country will be able to set up their own independent state, to join the equal family of African nations. It will be a major victory for justice and common sense in international affairs.

The Soviet Union together with Cuba and all states that are members of the United Nations Organization is prepared to make its contribution to the implementation of the accords on Namibia and assist the final abolition of colonialism and racism on the African continent.

One of the longest-standing and most dangerous regional conflicts is connected with Israel's occupation of Arab lands, with the depriving of the Arab people of Palestine of their right to independence.

In this region where the economic, political, and military interests of a number of states are intertwined, much inflammable material has been accumulated, both literally and figuratively. The fire has begun spreading beyond the area. I have in mind first of all the alarming situation in Lebanon. It would be sheer carelessness to expect such a situation to persist indefinitely into the future.

We believe that not just the immediate parties to the conflict—the Arab states and Israel—but also Europe, which is close to the area, the United States and, of course, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries should have a vital interest in untying the Middle East knot. That is why we have thought and continue to think it necessary to invigorate efforts in the interests of a Middle East settlement.

Finally, recent events open up the prospect for a peaceful settlement of the conflict situation around Nicaragua.

It would appear that the agreements the Central American presidents recently reached at their meeting in El Salvador lay down a good foundation for peace in Central America. Of special importance is the decision adopted there to disband the contras, as well as Nicargua's pledge to continue democratization in the country.

The FSLN [Sandanist National Liberation Front]—leadership is already making major steps toward that by announcing early general elections under international supervision, resuming dialogue with the internal opposition, widening the citizens' political rights, enacting the amnesty law, and envisaging a reduction of the armed forces and defense spending.

Normalization of the situation in the region will certainly depend in large measure on the contribution of Nicargua's neighbors and also on the position of the United States, where, along with the recognition of the realities emerging in Central America, there is a persistent temptation to stick to the principles of power politics. In this context, the decision to continue helping the Contras is a matter of concern. Furthermore, we cannot accept statements coming out of Washington which distort the nature of our relations with Cuba and Nicaragua.

Our approach to the settlement of Central America's problems remains unchanged. We favor a Latin American solution to the conflict based on a balance of interests of all parties concerned, without any outside interference and with the right of each nation to independent development assured. We support U.N. and OAS peace-keeping efforts.

We cannot agree with the remarks of U.S. Vice-President Quayle, describing Central and Latin American countries as the U.S. backyard.

Mutual restraint and building confidence among countries of the region is taking on paramount importance now.

Fidel and I have discussed this matter and we are firmly convinced that it can only be resolved by political means. There is a real chance now to ensure peace and security in the region. One of the principal conditions for that is the cessation of military supplies to Central America from any quarter.

Supporting the just cause of the Nicaraguan people, we from the bottom of our heart wish them peace, durable independence, and solution of the difficult problems facing them.

Comrades, for me, getting to know fraternal Cuba is at the same time getting to know Latin America—an amazingly fascinating and original continent. Vestiges of the old have yet to be erased, and pockets of acute social conflict, poverty, and dependence still handicap progress.

But at the same time, industrial giants are being born and democratic processes are developing. The voice of Latin American states resounds with increasing strength in world affairs. The contribution of Latin American nations to world culture is growing, as is their influence in the shaping of the international climate as a whole.

Lately, relations between the Soviet Union and many Latin American states have become wider and more diversified.

I am delighted to recall the meetings I had in Moscow with the leaders of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and many other political figures of the continent, especially my conversation with the outstanding contemporary writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez. Our contacts with businessmen, public figures, scientists and men and women of the arts are on the rise.

While advocating expanded cooperation with Latin American states, the Soviet Union does not seek any political or strategic military advantages in the Western Hemisphere. We believe that, just as all other continents, Latin America should not be an arena of East-West confrontation. We regard Latin America as a tangible factor in contemporary world developments, which is capable of making a significant contribution to progress towards a better world.

So much for our general approach. As a follow up to it, I would like to state the following.

The Soviet Union favors enhancing the nuclear-free status of Latin America on the basis of the treaty of Tlatelolco, and supports the creation of a zone of peace and cooperation in the southern Atlantic and of similar zones in Central America, the Caribbean, and the waters of the Pacific off South America.

If Latin American countries decide to convene an international conference to work out coordinated measures to ensure the observance of the status of such zones, inviting the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and other powers outside the region—we are prepared to take part in it.

The USSR does not have and does not intend to have naval, air force, or missile bases in Latin America or to deploy nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction here. It calls on other states to take a similar approach in order to turn Latin America into a region of durable and stable peace and cooperation.

We wish to build our trade and economic relations with the countries of Latin America on principles of justice and reciprocal benefit. For this purpose, both traditional and new forms of partnership could be used, including contacts with the existing regional economic organizations.

Alternative options of development must not stand in the way of cooperation among nations, on both regional and global scale.

In the not so distant future mankind will mark the 500th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America. As is known, Cuba was one of the first islands where the caravels of the great man from Genoa first dropped anchor, and his voyage lasted 3 months.

Progress in communications has reduced that time to a few hours, and news about events in the Western Hemisphere now reaches other continents with the speed of lightning. But what is perhaps more important than our success in making distances shorter is the intensive exchange of material and intellectual values and contacts between nations lying across the oceans.

The gap between the group of economically developed and developing nations is among the sharpest problems of our times. The latter countries do not form an integral whole. They include both so-called new industrial giants and a group of the world's poorest states whose national income does not ensure their populations even scanty living wages.

These differences are essential. But I would like to note something else, namely that the gap between developing countries in general—and they are four-fifths of all mankind—and the small group of countries boasting advanced technology keeps growing.

It can't be said that nothing is being done to prevent this. It is known that the Soviet Union and the other economically developed nations of the socialist community have for many years been actively helping developing nations to create their own industries, train their own personnel, and deal with other pressing problems. At the U.N. General Assembly in New York we have made far-reaching proposals concerning the debt problem, the acceptance of which would help alleviate the debtors' burden and reopen some of the blocked "blood vessels" of the world economic and financial systems.

We hope that the awareness of the need to address this problem will continue to grow in developed Western nations.

The Non-Aligned Movement, uniting countries which differ in their economic development levels and their social and political characteristics, has a big role to play in this field.

The United Nations has been making energetic efforts in this respect, too.

The issue of coordinating scattered efforts and giving them a more systematic and purposeful nature is now being raised in practical terms.

In other words, instead of conducting dialogue in groups, namely between North and South and between East and South, we suggest that representatives of all parts of the world gather for this noble aim. Let North, South, East, and West together think over a development strategy, taking account of the fact that additional resources for aid can be found by continuing and furthering the disarmament process.

Dear comrades, we have now been able to see for ourselves again the mutual affection of Soviet people and Cubans for each other. When meeting with workers and specialists from enterprises and research institutions in the capital, at official talks and in the streets of Havana, we invariably felt ourselves among real friends.

May Soviet-Cuban friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples grow stronger.

We wish you success in realizing the rectification policy and plans for economic and social development and for improvement in working people's lives.

We wish happiness and prosperity to the fraternal Cuban people.

Text of Soviet-Cuban Friendship Treaty Released

LD0504010889 Moscow TASS in English 0105 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Havana April 5 TASS—Following is the full text of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Cuba and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

The Republic of Cuba and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

On the grounds of their fraternal and indestructible friendship and solidarity, based on a common ideology, the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, internationalism and identical objectives, the construction of socialism and communism,

Guided by the purpose of further developing and strengthening cooperation in a broad range of spheres between the two states, in keeping with the fundamental interests of their peoples,

Aware of the fact that in the nuclear era, bolstering a just and lasting world peace is of utmost urgency to safeguard the very survival of mankind,

Resolved to do everything within their reach to foster the process aimed at improving the international situation, constructive dialogue and cooperation, and to consolidate peaceful coexistence as the universal norm in relations among states,

Persuaded that just international economic and political relations, based on cooperation among all members of the world community, is essential for guaranteeing true world- wide security,

Determined to contribute to the solution of the urgent problems confronting humanity, particularly the need to eliminate inequality, economic and social backwardness resulting from underdevelopment and the perils that threaten the ecological system,

Committed to the attainment of man's full dignity, enjoyment of political, economic and social rights and a higher quality of life,

Reaffirming the two parties' invariable and principled position of safeguarding the rights of the peoples to self-determination, independence and sovereignty,

Ratifying their unyielding commitment to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter,

Have decided to enter upon this agreement of friendship and cooperation and have agreed the following:

Article 1

The high contracting parties ratify their firm determination to continue developing and improving their fraternal relations, based on the traditional principles of non-interference, mutual respect and equality, as an effective contribution to the prosperity of their peoples and the strengthening of peace. They will broaden the exchange of experiences in the construction of socialism in the party, state and economic spheres, taking into account the diversity of their forms and the specific conditions prevailing in each country.

Article 2

The high contracting parties will develop and improve economic, scientific and technical cooperation and trade relations by all the means at their disposal. They will continue coordinating their economic plans and searching for the most efficient ways and courses for bilateral interaction with a view to further increasing the material and cultural standards of living of the peoples in the two countries.

Article 3

The high contracting parties will promote contacts between their state and governmental institutions. They will assist in the development of relations between trade-union, youth, women's and other social organisations and labour collectives, as well as of contacts in the field of science, culture, education, public health, press, radio, television, cinema, tourism and sports. The parties will contribute to a better mutual knowledge of the life and spiritual values of the peoples in the two countries.

Article 4

The high contracting parties will consistently contribute to the strengthening of fraternal friendship relations among the socialist countries, to improve and expand cooperation in all spheres, bilaterally and multilaterally. they will actively engage in bolstering socialist economic integration, pursuant to the resolutions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Article 5

The high contracting parties, based on identical purposes and approach regarding major international issues, will continue striving to: reinforce peace, eliminate the danger of a nuclear war, ban the use of nuclear weapons and destroy their arsenals, destroy chemical weapons and other means of mass extermination, prevent the militarisation of outer space, end the arms race, and attain general and complete disarmament under efficient international control.

Article 6

The high contracting parties, convinced of the close links that bind peace, disarmament and development, will continue to give their resolute support to the idea of transferring the resources released by concrete disarmament measures and reductions in military spending to meet the economic and social development needs of the countries, particularly those that suffer the sequels of underdevelopment.

Article 7

The high contracting parties will contribute to promote the establishment of global international security. They will spare no efforts in making the principle of rejecting the use or threat of use of force a universal norm of conduct in inter-state relations and fostering the settlement of conflicts between states solely by peaceful and political means. The parties will also contribute to the solution of regional conflicts and hotbeds of tension through negotiated political means, based on respect for the sovereignty and the right of the peoples to exercise self-determination and to freely choose their political and social regimes without foreign interference.

Article 8

The high contracting parties will continue to support the United Nations Organisation and sustain their efforts to strengthen its role as the most important universal instrument for the maintenance of peace and security and for the solution of other key problems in our contemporary world.

Article 9

The high contracting parties will continue to work for full implementation of the United Nations declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples and for the application of the right to all peoples to self-determination in the practice of international relations.

Article 10

The high contracting parties will do everything possible to materialise the concept of restructuring international economic relations on just and democratic foundations with a view to eliminating unequal terms of trade, protectionism and all discriminatory practices in world trade, and excluding economic coercion for political purposes from relations among states. They will promote genuine international cooperation geared to the economic and social development of the nations in order to ensure the establishment of the new international economic order and the solution of the serious external debt problem the vast majority of Third World countries is suffering.

Article 11

The high contracting parties will continue to exchange views on major issues of mutual interest with a view to enhancing the interaction of the two countries in the international arena.

Article 12

This treaty does not prejudice the rights and obligations provided for in bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements now in force concluded by the high contracting parties with other states and is not directed against third countries.

Article 13

This treaty is concerted for a period of twenty-five years. Its validity will automatically be extended for periods of five years if neither of the high contracting parties notifies the other in writing its wish to denounce it six months prior to the corresponding expiration date.

Article 14

This treaty will be ratified and go into force on the date of the exchange of the instruments of ratification that will take place in the city of Moscow.

Given in Havana, on the fourth day of April of the year nineteen hundred and eighty-nine in two equally valid originals in Spanish and in Russian.

For the Republic of Cuba
Fidel Castro

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Mikhail Gorbachev

Cuban Assembly Ratifies Friendship Treaty

LD0504014189 Moscow TASS in English 0132 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Havana April 5 TASS—The Cuban National Assembly was convened on Tuesday [4 April] for a special session on the occasion of Mikhail Gorbachev's official friendly visit.

The deputies ratified the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Cuba, signed in Havana on the same day by the leaders of the two countries.

Gorbachev, Castro Hold News Conference

LD0504141689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Havana, 5 Apr (TASS special correspondents)—At the request of journalists covering the Soviet leader's visit, M.S. Gorbachev today met here with them at the Palace of Congresses following the festive session of the National Assembly of People's Power. F. Castro took part in the press conference.

The encounter with journalists began with a brief statement by M.S. Gorbachev:

Following the exchange of speeches at the National Assembly, one can note that the substantive part of the visit is coming to an end. I must reveal a little secret to you. Our talks with Comrade Castro continue constantly, wherever we may be. The visit has shown that Soviet-Cuban relations are continuing to expand and strengthen. During the visit, we have managed to discuss a great deal and, as Fidel Castro has said, and I can confirm, there is complete mutual understanding between us, and not just mutual understanding of a formal nature. We are both satisfied with the talks. I think that this event will be of great importance not just for Soviet-Cuban relations. It is an event of world scope. Whatever the case, I am very satisfied with what has been achieved in the past few days.

Question: Mikhail Sergeyevich, the Republic of Cuba is not only a socialist, but a developing, nonaligned country. How would you describe its role in the Nonaligned Movement?

M.S. Gorbachev: I think the whole 30 years of experience which has accumulated here on the island as a result of the choice made by the people is of tremendous significance for the whole world, but especially for the peoples who have embarked on the road of autonomous development, for the developing states.

This experience is unique. It is unique because here everything had to be started from the beginning. Today Cuba is a country with a fully developed political system, with accumulated experience in the solution of economic questions, the solution of such human and humanistic tasks as education and people's health. I think this is the most important way in which Cuba's example influences the developing countries. If one adds to this that for all these years the Cuban leadership, relying on the support of the people, has been pursuing a clearly expressed progressive policy, has actively supported upholding the principles of equality, noninterference, and the right of each people to make its own choice, has been defending the interests of cooperation and the principles of peaceful coexistence, and has been coming out on the side of the countries fighting for their liberation, then this only strengthens its influence on these countries, and Cuba's role here is very high.

Question: I want to ask Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev why you, being 2 hours' flight from Nicaragua, did not come to my country, which is in equal need of your presence? In the future, will you invite President Daniel Ortega to official talks in Moscow? And another question, did you touch on the subject of Nicaragua in your talks in Havana?

M.S. Gorbachev: We have active links and an active dialogue with the leadership of Nicaragua. This includes visits, exchanges of opinion at summit and other levels, and exchanges of information and correspondence. We have permanent, active communications.

I think that a meeting between the leadership of the USSR and Nicaragua will take place in the near future. This is a state, this is a people that has shown its adherence to freedom, a courageous people, and this demands a respectful attitude toward the people, the state, and the leaders of this country. It is this that is our starting point. There have been meetings and there will be more.

[Moscow TASS in English at 2332 GMT on 4 April carries a similar report on the Gorbachev-Castro news conference which adds: "The Soviet Union highly values the political dialogue and broadening cooperation that have become apparent between the Soviet Union and Latin American countries in the recent years, Gorbachev said, adding that Soviet people are closely watching the drastic changes taking place on the continent."]

F. Castro: Yes, of course we talked about Nicaragua. And that is logical. In whatever part of the planet leaders of socialist countries meet, they cannot help talking about the problems of Latin America, above all the problems of Nicaragua. And we spoke about Nicaragua in a spirit of sympathy, solidarity, and friendship, as we have always done. In some ways I represented Nicaragua, as did Comrade Gorbachev. We have to be fair, don't we? Because otherwise we will be accused of sectarianism.

Question: Last year I visited your country and was particularly impressed by what is going on there, the reforms that you are carrying out for your people, particularly with regard to glasnost, which I experienced personally as a journalist, enjoying complete freedom in conversations with Soviet people. There is a very positive attitude to this in my country, as there is throughout the world. You are always putting forward new, fresh ideas about international realities. You have done this everywhere. But nevertheless, here in Cuba you have not said anything new, at least, not new to us. I would not want to say that Cuba is a puppet or a colony of the Soviet Union, and that you can impose your policies on Fidel Castro. But perhaps some recommendations were made, something new, fresh, that we do not know about?

M.S. Gorbachev: I would like to say that this meeting has been of great importance for Fidel, Cuba's leader, and for myself. The world as a whole and the Socialist world are at a watershed. I would say that this is a special period. That is what I would call it. At the moment, it is very important to make the right decision, and not to be mistaken in the choice of paths. The world is at a crossroads. And we had a very intensive exchange of opinions from this point of view. It concerned the philosophical foundations of today's world, the prospects for it, and especially what we should do, the Soviet Union and Cuba in particular. But not only us. And in this regard we have complete mutual understanding.

We believe that the world has grown tired of confrontation.

The whole world has been faced with the challenge of very serious global problems: nuclear weapons, ecology, backwardness, and underdevelopment of many countries—it all requires the appropriate reaction and major decisions. I would note a change in policy.

The policy of force has thoroughly discredited itself: it does not contain a constructive basis. We must close that period of the cold war, and open a new stage. And it was this which was the topic of the main part of our exchange of views with Comrade Castro. He is a partner with whom I experience enormous satisfaction in holding discussions on all matters. We are united in believing that new breakthroughs are needed in thoughts, in policy, and in practical steps.

The strongest propaganda today, if anyone wants to engage in it, is realistic policies. People are fed up with the deceptions and blathering of politicians; they need practical steps, new steps to improve the international situation. I declare: We are united on this and will act in this direction.

The world of Socialism is also going through a period of profound transformations. And on that score you journalists have a fair amount of not only information, but also disinformation. It is said that disinformation is also a form of information. Some give information in order to clarify the truth, others in order to confuse minds, to muddle people and hinder them from finding the right answers to logical questions.

And so, there are very many truly serious reflections about the problems of transformation of the Socialist countries among representatives of various social and scientific forces and political scientists, and in general I welcome this. But on the other hand, there is quite a bit of speculation of the very lowest grade, smelling of the old mothballs of the "cold war". That sort of stereotype. And what sort of speculation preceded my visit here? Apparently, Comrade Castro and I were not to meet as the old friends that we in fact are, but as practically enemies. This is all fiction. Someone would like it to be that way, but it is not so. We have been friends, and today our friendship is even firmer, and our mutual understanding is stronger. This is of fundamental importance: Take any capitalist country—any—and look for it, saying here are two countries which do things the same way and live in the same ways. You will not find a single country that is just the same, a complete copy! The mistakes of the past include the fact that we have often tried to duplicate, to make a mechanical translation, but where we have had a creative approach, there has been a strengthening, while dogmatic copying has inflicted harm. We reject this. We remain dedicated to our values, our choice, to socialism.

We will, through restructuring, perfect socialism. We say this, and I have stressed it repeatedly, so that everyone will know, so that no one will expect anything else from us. This is how we are acting; everyone should know this. And in this case, each country solves the tasks of socialist transformation taking as its starting point its own conditions; taking as its starting point the level of its own development, its own political experience; taking into account the traditions, its own scales, role, involvement in particular processes, and so on. This is a very complex dialectic and therefore there is a difference in our methods, in those which are used by the Soviet Union or the Cuban leadership, but we all bear responsibility for taking Socialism onto the broad highway, for giving it a second wind, for opening up the huge potential of this system. And, most important, whatever methods we use and apply, one thing remains paramount: We are trying through these forms and methods to take people, working people, up onto the arena of political and economic life, as the main protagonists—through democracy, through forms, new forms of management, through the political process, through glasnost and so on. So we had very serious talks.

F. Castro: I don't understand why you say Comrade Gorbachev said nothing new here. He has just delivered a speech which contains much that is new, interesting, and constructive. Gorbachev's wisdom lies in the fact that in coming to another country, he does not attempt to dictate what it should do. I am delighted with this. (applause)

Question: At the end of your speech, you mentioned the need to hold an international meeting to be attended by representatives of North and South, East and West, to discuss problems of foreign debt and the international economic system. How and when, in your view, will it be advisable to hold this conference?

M.S. Gorbachev: I believe that while such global questions as indebtedness, the problem of debts, are examined in "groups of seven", "groups of three", "groups of eight", and "groups of ten", this process will not advance. We need an internationalization of these problems. It is a problem of the entire human community and I think that these problems should be looked at from that level. The most suitable place for this is, I believe, the United Nations. And I feel that the first opportunity is already here, since there will be a special session devoted to these questions. But I also favor the formation within the UN framework of some sort of permanently operating institute that would start on a serious analysis of the situation, and work out realistic steps to solve this most acute problem of our civilization.

Question: President Fidel Castro has reiterated his demand that the creditor countries cancel the foreign debt owed by the countries of the Third World. Mr Gorbachev, is the Soviet Union ready to cancel Cuba's foreign debt?

M.S. Gorbachev: I have spoken of our readiness to implement these very approaches. Fidel and I have discussed these matters, and have agreed to continue with our consultations and our joint analysis, so as to embark on specific steps later. We are prepared to act in just the way I spoke of in the United Nations.

F. Castro: Some people might get the impression that we want to abolish our debt to the Soviet Union. We have been receiving credits from the Soviet Union for the past 30 years. I have spoken of this here. We have never had any financial problems whatsoever with the Soviet Union. From the very first years of this relationship, our loan repayments were either postponed, or else the interest payable was simply cancelled. The Soviet Union has never refused us credits for development because of our debt. I would like the problems that exist between the Latin American countries and their creditors to be of the same order as the "problems" we have with the Soviet Union. And therefore what we are suggesting is a general principle, and I believe the Soviet Union will likewise apply it universally.

At the present time, together with the Soviet Union, we are building dozens of economic facilities, and if relations between the countries of the Third World and the creditor banks were like ours, then there would be no problem of foreign indebtedness at all. We have no such problem.

[passage indistinct] [TASS English version reads: "Asked about the course of reconstruction work in quake-stricken Armenian regions, Gorbachev announced that the work was in full swing and that all constituent republics of the USSR have allocated resources, manpower and building machinery to carry out the reconstruction programme within the next two or three years.

["On behalf of all Soviet people he expressed sincere gratitude for assistance in overcoming consequences of the quake.

["Asked to comment on the imminent threat of Lebanon's partitioning, Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union will do everything to alleviate the plight of the Lebanese people. 'But this problem should be examined within the context of the Middle East situation,' he added.

["The Soviet leader expressed confidence that the time has come when international settlement of the Middle East situation is feasible.

[" 'The point at issue is to resolve the problem by taking into account the interests of Arab countries and Israel and, naturally, of the Palestinian people,' he said. 'The experience of the solution of other regional conflicts has created prerequisites for that.'"]

Question: I have a question for Comrade Gorbachev. In the time since your country proposed ridding the world of nuclear weapons and signed the treaty with the United States scrapping missiles, the United States has increased the number of its nuclear weapons, especially submarines. The Army wants more funds for weapons. It has occurred to me that perhaps the United States does not agree with your view on a nuclear-free world. Is there not idealism in your policy, if the United States does not agree to work for the good of peace?

M.S. Gorbachev: Among other things, when we proclaimed our program for the construction of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world and put forward the idea of eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000, that was just the reaction to our plan then. The words you could hear most often then were "illusion" and "utopia". But only 2 or 3 years have passed and we already have the first treaty on eliminating one whole class of nuclear weapons, and an energetic process of talks is in progress. As far as the 50 percent reduction in nuclear weapons is concerned—I have the Soviet Union and the United States in mind—this process has made a great deal of progress.

Finally, we have progress on chemical weapons. The process of reducing conventional weapons and troops in Europe has gotten underway. In short, 2 to 3 years have confirmed that those who, notwithstanding, believed in the possibility of disarmament, both in nuclear and conventional weapons, and in the possibility of a move away from confrontation, away from the policy of strength towards political processes and towards talks, were right. And look how the world is reacting. Broad public circles are coming in to the arena of diplomatic struggle. This is an unprecedented movement since the war. Therefore, I believe that the process is gaining strength and becoming global and that there are opportunities for further movement. I think the American people will also demand from their government the continuation of efforts toward disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament. I am convinced that this is possible. Most importantly, this is vital. And he who takes on the responsibility, or rather, he who turns aside, or uses the negotiations, or conversations about negotiations, in order to hide his plans, to upset the disarmament process, will take on a grave responsibility, and will, in any case, have to answer both to his own people and to world opinion. Forces have been brought into action. I think the politicians who will have a future will be those capable of understanding and expressing—real policies in the form of real steps—the imperatives of the present day, capable of sensing the mood of people and reflecting it in policy. However difficult this may be, this process will gain strength.

S. Gorbunov
A. Kanishchev
S. Sereda
V. Talanov

Shevardnadze Continues Talks With Malmierca

LD0404210189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2020 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Havana, 5 Apr (TASS)—The exchange of views between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and I. Malmierca, Cuban foreign minister, continued here on Tuesday [4 April]. C. Aldana, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat, also took part.

During a discussion on current international and regional problems particular attention was devoted to the main aspects of the situation in the south of the African continent. The sides voiced concern over the aggravation of the situation in Namibia over the past few days, and resolutely advocated that all the parties to the Tripartite Agreement on a settlement in southwest Africa rigorously fulfil their obligations and strictly adhere to UN Security Council Resolution No 435.

It was emphasized that under the present conditions the complete and efficient implementation of the decisions adopted is of primary importance, especially regarding the rapid engagement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group [UNTAG] civilian and military contingent and the demonstration by all parties concerned of a sense of high responsibility with the aim of ensuring the successful development of the political settlement process.

Political & Social

Electoral Commission Chairman on Elections

LD0404171989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Summary] A routine session of the Central Electoral Commission on the election of USSR people's deputies was held in the House of the Union in Moscow today. It summed up the results of the elections of USSR people's deputies for territorial, national-territorial constituencies, and for public organizations. Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, who delivered a report on the question, was asked later by an unidentified correspondent to comment. Orlov said:

"The main result of the elections is that the Soviet people have gained a unique political experience at a new stage of the democratic development of our country. We were witnesses and participants in new phenomena in election practice. Everyone can see today that the people are coming out of a condition of social apathy, and today feel themselves master of their socialist home. The fact that 172 million electors took part in the voting—which is 89.8 percent of those entered on the roll—is a convincing demonstration of the active political position of Soviet people.

"The particularity of the elections that were held was the real leadership of the electoral commissions in ensuring the whole election campaign. The system consisted of the central, constituency and ward [uchastkovyy] commissions, and also the commission for the elections from public organizations. In all there were 178,000, staffed by more than 2 million representatives of labor collectives, public organizations, gatherings of electors by place of residence, and of troops from military units. There were significant changes in the content of the work of the commissions. This applies particularly to the constituency commissions. They organized the nominations of candidates, called constituency election meetings, and, with labor collectives and public organizations, held meetings between candidates and electors. The membership of the commissions themselves was formed in a new way, without warrants, with detailed discussions of candidacies.

It was not hard to see that the workers want to see as their candidates people not distinguished for regalia and titles, or loud promises, but who are ready to work actively in the interest of restructuring, who are capable of public work, and who are principled, honest and decent.

"Of course, there were shortcomings, mistakes, misunderstandings. Sometimes in the situation of nominating candidates there was a clash between new approaches and old stereotypes, over-organization and formalism. All in all, the constituency electoral commissions listed 2,842 candidate deputies on the ballot papers, included in 398 constituencies with only 1, 951 with 2, and 151 constituences with 3 or more candidates for seats. This circumstance, as was to be expected, gave rise to a broad upsurge of campaigning. In many regions, in the place of former agitation centers, there appeared public political information and propaganda centers and electors' clubs. Various forms of posters and pamphlets abounded on the streets of towns. To sum up, as the election campaign gained speed, the forms of canvassing became more extensive and varied.

"The true, not merely calendar, culmination of the election campaign was election day, 26 March, which took place under conditions quite unlike those of similar previous dates. For the first time Soviet people went to the polling booths not just to vote, but to choose. The great activity of the electors at all stages of the campaign was reflected on election day in the fact that nearly 90 percent of all citizens on the roll, as I have already said, went to the polling booths. In circumstances where there was no chasing after percentages of voter participation, when canvassers did not tour apartments, when there was no voting in trains, stations, and airports, this 90 percent is, I think, much more weighty and valuable than the previous 99.

"Elections took place in all constituencies, with the exception of one territorial and two national territorial constituencies of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. People's deputies were elected from 589 territorial and 636 national-territorial constituencies. In 70 constituencies, where there were more than two candidates and the electors did not give a clear preference, there will be a repeat ballot. In 11 constituencies, the single candidate did not gain the majority of votes. In 184 constituencies, 1 out of 2 did not win. In all, these 199 [figures as heard] constituencies, there will be repeat elections on 14 May.

"It must also be noted that according to the results it was not only rank and file workers, but leading party, soviet, and economic cadres who did not enjoy the support of the electors in a number of constituencies. In most cases this reflected the desire of the workers to speed up the process of restructuring, to struggle even more actively against bureaucracy and the command and administrative methods of work, and to satisfy in all ways the daily demands of the population.

"The elections of people's deputies from all-union public organizations was, for us, unprecedented. As is well known, (?for) 750 seats, more than 2,000 persons were nominated out of many thousands of candidatures put forward at grass roots organizations. The Electoral Commission registered 780 candidatures, and 732 people's deputies were elected. The remainder did not obtain the necessary majority of votes.

"The election of people's deputies from public organizations will certainly make it possible to expand the representations in the supreme body of power of the creative intelligentsia, of scientific workers, of the best representatives of the working class, peasantry, women, and young people, and of people with an active civic position who enjoy prestige and support not only among the members of these organizations, but in broad strata of the country's population."

"Among those already elected are 334 women, or 17.1 percent; 1,624 men, or 82.9 percent; 219 collective farm [kolkhoz] workers, or 11.2 percent; 1,716 CPSU members and candidate members, or 87.6 percent; 242 nonparty members, or 12.4 percent; and 114 Komsomol members, or 5.8 percent."

"The elections of USSR people's deputies summed up the result of the huge amount of political work of the electoral commissions, of party, soviet, trade union and komsomol organizations, of labor collectives, and of the public. In its extent, in the degree of involving the broad masses from all strata of society, in the novelty and complexity of the problems to be solved, there has never been anything like this campaign in the history of our country.

"The policy of our party on reforming the political system, and the profound democratization of public life, has turned into a reality, and is turning into a reality, something that until recently was hard to imagine. That is to say that people have accepted restructuring with their minds and hearts, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed in his speech on 29 March. And this is the main political result of the elections."

Failed Candidate Notes Election System Faults

OW0404151589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2140 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Interview with Professor Nikolay Ivanovich Porubov, doctor of jurisprudence, shown in the uniform of an Army colonel, by Moscow Television correspondent A. Zhuk; time and place not given; from the Novosti newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Zhuk] Nikolay Ivanovich, you were not elected; the other two remain for the run-off. Well, in a purely human way you must be extremely distressed and saddened. At the same time, do you consider this to be a personal catastrophe?

[Porubov] Of course it is unpleasant, but I do not see any particular tragedy in this. After all, one must know how to lose, too, right, and to leave without slamming the door, and hope for the future. But people did not vote against me as an individual. They voted against the system that I represent. It is no secret that the present system in the Ministry of Internal Affairs is not particularly popular. That was the reason. Now in putting forward my nomination, I thought that people would vote for me as an individual, as a doctor of jurisprudence, as a professor, in fact as a lawyer. It was my idea when I decided to run that who better than a lawyer should help create a state based on law.

[Zhuk] Nikolay Ivanovich, as a lawyer you must have some comments or proposals on perfecting the pre-election campaign?

[Porubov] I think that several conclusions must be made here. First of all, the law should be changed, a part of it. I would oppose all of those various councils and unions that make nominations. It turns out that I as a citizen have one vote, while a person working in a creative union who is a member of the party has three votes. So there is no equality here.

[Zhuk] Now what is your opinion about the fact that many electoral districts had only one mandate?

[Porubov] Well, of course there was no choice there—therefore people in those districts simply voted passively. In other words, they did not show up, or voted against the candidate. Not because he was bad; they voted against this electoral system because there was no choice there.

[Zhuk] Do you have any wishes for those who remain in your electoral district and aspire to be elected deputy?

[Porubov] I would like to see them fulfill voters' instructions, to see that they are people of integrity, that they not succumb to corruption and be guided by state interests rather than their own narrow departmental interests because, after all, they will be deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Shcherbitskiy's Pre-Election Speech Reported

AU0104100189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Mar 89 pp 1,2

[RATAU report on the tour of Verkhnedneprovskiy constituency No 424 by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, on 20-22 March: "Intensifying Restructuring in Practice, Improving the Working People's Living Standards"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On 22 March V.V. Shcherbitskiy, candidate for the office of USSR national deputy, met the voters of the Sofiyevskiy, Pyatikhatskiy, and Verkhnedneprovskiy rayons at a meeting opened by V.A. Linnik, director of the Verkhnepetrovskiy Children's Home No 2 and chairman of the okrug election committee.

In addressing the gathering, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said: I am sincerely glad to be able to meet you here, and I am profoundly grateful to the voters of the Verkhnedneprovskiy constituency for nominating me as their candidate for the office of USSR national deputy. I particularly value your confidence, since I spent my youth in Verkhnedneprovsk, and since the beginning of my professional and party activity is also bound to your oblast.

I have already said when meeting the voters that, as candidate for the office of deputy, I fully endorse the Communists' political platform as formulated in the CPSU Central Committee's Appeal entitled "To the Party and the Soviet People;" and that I will devote all my energy and experience to fully implementing the ideas and provisions of this document, both for the benefit of the socialist renewal of our dear fatherland, and so as to provide peaceful living conditions and raise the prosperity of Soviet people.

The present election campaign, which is being handled in a new way and which has evoked a truly unprecedented upsurge of political activity among our people, is drawing to an end. This campaign has stipulated further consolidation of society on a nationwide platform of restructuring, and has enabled us to specify the primary goals of renewal and to define more precisely its long-term tasks.

The newly elected USSR national deputies, V.V. Shcherbitskiy went on to say, will have to tackle several problems seriously, the most important of which concerns food. In fact, one of the main stipulations of the CPSU's election platform is satisfying as quickly as possible the population's needs in foodstuffs. In this context the speaker dwelt on the **decisions of the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which defined the basic political line in implementing the party's agrarian policy under present conditions.**

The fact that the food problem has become an exacerbated social and political issue makes it essential to radically change the manner of solving it. The CPSU Plenum also pointed out the main reasons why our food resources continue to grow at an unsatisfactory rate and why there has been no change in supplies to the population in spite of all the efforts and means invested. The imperfect production-economic relations in our rural areas are the main reason; they have led to the peasants' alienation from the soil and to the loss of personal interest in economic results. The second reason is the obsolete social sphere. Moreover, the agencies set up for managing our agricultural production complex, which are often averse to relying on economic levers and curtail the independence of collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes], persist in their practices of basically focusing on management through administrative commands.

This is exactly why truly unusual, even radical, solutions were needed to provide prerequisites for thoroughly restructuring the country's agro-industrial complex and accelerating its development.

It is known that agricultural production will also be based in the future on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which will have to acquire broad skills in economic accountability. The novelty will be the various forms of management and corresponding economic relations. The Agrarian Industrial Complex [APK] management must be built on democratic principles. The improvement of the pricing system and the elaboration of the parity of values between the agrarian sector and other branches will have to be seriously tackled. It has been decided to introduce new procurement prices for agricultural produce as of next year. At the same time it was stressed that, in the next 2-3 years, the retail state prices for basic foodstuffs will remain unchanged. The capital invested in the APK will be increased, enabling us to provide for the necessary development of its material-technical base and the social sphere. The rights of the republics and of local authorities, and their responsibilities for a comprehensive solution of the existing tasks, will also be enhanced.

The Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the government of the republic are persistently and systematically working on expanding food resources. Certain positive changes have already taken place in this sphere. However, at present neither the production potential created in the republic nor the soil in many farms is being properly used, and the production of foodstuffs is insufficient for our needs.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy then recalled that the average annual grain production in the republic during the last 3 years increased 27 percent, and that the figure for sunflowers was 21 percent, for meat 25 percent, for milk 21 percent, and for eggs 13 percent. The planned delivery tasks in meat, milk, and eggs to the republican fund have been fulfilled. Last year the per capita consumption of meat amounted to 68 kg, and of milk 366 kg; this substantially exceeds the average consumption during the period of the preceding 5-year plan. The per capita meat and milk consumption in the Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, and certain other oblasts with developed industries was even slightly higher.

In this way both production and consumption are increasing. However, the speaker reiterated, this growth is not sufficient to provide for the needs and to satisfy the increased purchasing power of the population. Apart from the inadequate rate of production increases, this also shows the impact of the enormous losses of produce at harvesting time and during transport, and particularly the losses incurred by the processing industry and during storage.

Recently we have been making quite an effort to improve the working and living conditions of the rural population in our republic. During the last 3 years more than R6 billion have been set apart for this purpose, i.e. almost the same amount as during the entire preceding 5-year planning period. The proportion of capital invested in the social sphere of rural communities increased from 18 to 25 percent. As a consequence the farms in a number of oblasts, including the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, have been able to vigorously consolidate their hold on the young people; we also see there a marked tendency to stabilize the working collectives. However, the social sphere in most village communities and rayons remains most desolate.

A comprehensive program of social restructuring in the rural communities has been worked out for the 12th 5-Year Plan and up to the year 2000; it is now being implemented in the republic. It envisages more than R35-million worth of capital investments for these purposes. A lot of work awaits us in the improvement of medical care, social security, trade, and housing economy and in the development of the cultural base. We plan to resolve the issues connected with water supplies and road construction in the next 3-4 years. We are also looking for additional opportunities to increase the rate of gasification, particularly by increasing the funds set apart for the pipes.

Understandably, in order to solve the multifaceted problems of accelerating socioeconomic development in the rural areas we need the cities' help—not one-time help, but systematic assistance on the basis of contracts. **The CPSU Central Committee plenum stressed that the solution of the food problem is a national concern—the main key issue of the entire domestic policy of our party and our state.** Specific plans for utilizing cities' entire scientific and production potential for developing the APK are currently being worked out in all oblasts of the republic.

It is also good that this work was started in the Dnetropetrovsk Oblast when the March plenum of the Central Committee was being prepared. A few days ago the oblast party committee [obkom] and oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom] confirmed the program of joint effort of the industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes aimed at raising the production of animal produce.

For instance, within the framework of this program the collective of the Northern Ore-Enriching Combine (Comrade N.M. Panchoshnyy is director there, and Comrade V.I. Pilshchikov party committee secretary) will build facilities for 5,000 heads of big horned cattle, together with all social-cultural facilities, and lease them to the "22d Party Congress" Kolkhoz in the Pyatikhatskiy Rayon (where Comrade P.R. Perebeynos is kolkhoz chairman, and Comrade Yu.Ya. Sidorenko party committee secretary). On the other hand the members of the kolkhoz will provide the workers of the combine with animal produce produced over and above the plan.

Such a party and state approach has been exhibited by the the collectives of the Verkhnedneprovskiy mining and metallurgical factory (Director Comrade V.I. Sokolov, Secretary of the Party Committee Comrade V.G. Skosyrev), the Zheltovodskiy factory "Elektron" (Director Comrade I.I. Oskalenko, Secretary of the Party Committee Comrade P.I. Veremienko), and other enterprises. The joint contribution for just 3 years of the oblast's industrial enterprises and the APK in increasing capacities for the production of meat and milk amounts to about R0.5 billion .

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the speaker noted, **require that we all adopt critical positions in evaluating what has been done, reconsider in many respects the existing ways and methods of work in the APK, and effect cardinal changes in production relations, making extensive use of various methods of economic management which combine different forms of ownership and relations based on economic accountability.** This course received the full support of the Central Committee plenum participants. What is involved here, first and foremost, is the development of lease relations and cooperation.

This work has already started in the republic. This year, for example, two-thirds of our farms will be using different forms of leasing, and 35 percent will transfer plant growing and livestock breeding to these relations in full. There are already examples of the highly effective work of leaseholders in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, too. However, on the whole matters are still moving slowly. In Sofiyev Rayon only 44 people on five farms are working on a lease basis. It is also true that new agroindustrial formations have not yet been properly developed.

Of course, these processes must not be forced artificially, especially by administrative means. However, it is also impermissible to waste time, because we may fall behind and not cope with new tasks.

Such measures as would take the edge off of the problem of foodstuffs must surely be implemented immediately. In the 13th 5-year plan period it is imperative that we guarantee production of agricultural products which is sufficient to provide the population with a steady supply of foodstuffs. In concrete terms our task lies in increasing gross agricultural production by 15-17 percent, and the final output of foodstuffs by 26-30 percent.

In order to achieve this it is imperative that by 1990 we bring the gross grain yield up to 52-53 million tonnes, which means increasing it by 5-6 million tonnes compared to last year, having raised the yield to 32-33 centners [1 centner equals 100 kg] per hectare (over the past 3 years we have had a yield of 29.5 centners). Furthermore, the speaker noted, if we take the three rayons whose electors are present here, only the Verkhnedneprovskiy Rayon has obtained more than 30 centners of grain yields, while in the Sofiyevskiy and Pyatikhatskiy rayons the number is only 24-25 centners. As you see, the tasks are not easy, although they are quite realistic for your farms which have fertile soil. All that is necessary is that all specialists learn to cultivate high yields in any weather conditions.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy then said that it is intended, as early as by the end of the current 5-year plan period, to increase the purchases of meat in the republic by almost 400,000 tonnes and of milk by 1.2 million tonnes, or by 7-8 percent. Meanwhile, in many kolkhozes and sovkhozes the productivity of livestock breeding is still low, mainly because of the backwardness of fodder production and breeding techniques, and poor use of the potential of economic methods. The following fact was cited in the speech. The past year's milk production on the farms of the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast remained practically at the level of the previous year, and the amount of milk obtained from each cow was 140-180 kg less than that in the neighboring Donetsk and Khersonsk oblasts and in the republic as a whole. However, in the Pyatikhatskiy and Sofiyevskiy rayons the yields amount to only 2,500-2,600 kg. In the first months of this year the productivity of the milk herd in a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes was allowed to decrease. Given such a situation, it is surely not possible to effect a vital improvement in the supply of foodstuffs to the population? After all, full responsibility for this is now borne by republican and local organs.

It goes without saying that **in order to accomplish the tasks set by the CPSU Central committee plenum we must first of all make markedly more efficient use of the huge production potential which already exists in the APK, and further assimilate the achievements of scientific-technological progress.** Particular attention must be paid to reducing the loss of agricultural output and fulfilling the projected plans for the development of the processing industry and the storage base. Eliminating the unprofitability and increasing the profitability of kolkhozes and sovkhozes is a serious task. At the same time we must examine the question of writing off their indebtedness, proceeding from the real state of affairs on each farm.

In short, V.V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized, there are many problems. However, we are obliged, as they say, to attack them all together and to solve them—to solve them with persistence and according to the plan. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum projected a principled political course. It is imperative that we define concrete tasks and ways of effecting a practical realization of the decisions of the plenum, and also of the corresponding decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, in the shortest possible time.

There must be all-around discussion of the documents of the plenum in every party organization and work collective so that on the basis of careful consideration of local conditions and of accumulated experience we may select forms of economic management and get down to practical actions, that is to say to planning **what must be done by whom, when it must be done, and, what is most important, how it must be done in order to accomplish the tasks set.** Analysis of the results of the work of labor collectives which are part of the Verkhnedneprovskiy electoral district shows that the leaders of the rayons, of each farm, and of the entire oblast must review their plans for this year and for 1990, proceeding from the decisions of the March CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and adopt a very serious approach to drafting the plan for the 13th 5-year plan period. It is the task of the party obkoms, city party committees [gorkoms], and rayon party committees [raykoms] to organize this work.

The candidate for people's deputy noted that today, when a transition is being made from the ideas and plans of restructuring to their direct implementation, there is a need everywhere for practical actions which bring concrete results. With this aim in mind, and taking into account the particular socioeconomic features of the development of the republic, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the government have defined priority tasks: It is on accomplishing these tasks that manpower and resources will be concentrated first and foremost. The most important among them **are those of increasing the efficiency of production and the quality of output, solving the housing problem, satisfying the demand for foodstuffs, goods, and services, strengthening the base of the construction industry, and improving protection of the environment.**

It is clear that large capital investments, material and technical resources, and an appropriate amount of time are imperative if we are to accomplish all of these tasks. However, our first achievements already tell us that we are on the right path. In the course of economic reform the boundaries of the economic independence of enterprises have moved further apart, socialist enterprise has grown, and the influence of intensive factors of economic growth has become stronger. As a result, the republic has achieved the targets of the 5-year plan period with regard to basic indices, and in some cases has exceeded them. Over 3 years industrial output has exceeded the targets of the 5-year plan period by more than R4 billion.

This year has also not started badly. The volume of industrial production has grown by 3.8 percent, given a target for the year of 3.6 percent. There has been a decrease in the number of enterprises not fulfilling their contractual obligations. The targets for the extraction of coal and gas, the production of petrol and basic types of building materials, and consumer goods, including the output of toilet and household soap and synthetic washing agents have been exceeded. The plans for retail turnover and profit in the national economy have also been fulfilled.

There have been essential shifts in the reorientation of the economy to the accomplishment of social tasks, and this is particularly important. For the first time in many years the production growth rates for products in group "B" have exceeded the increase for products in group "A." Over 3 years we have let out about 2,000 flats in excess of the plan, which corresponds to our program half-year program for housing construction. This means that 900,000 additional people have received new flats or have improved their living conditions, including about 70,000 in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, which is not a small figure. At last, plans for the construction of hospitals, polyclinics, schools, and preschool institutions have begun to be fulfilled. In the current year the share of all resources channeled toward social goals exceeds 28 percent of the entire volume of capital investment.

However, it cannot be said that on the whole we are satisfied with the results of our work. After all, the efforts which have been made have not yet produced a tangible increase in the quality of peoples' lives. It is precisely toward this fact that M. S. Gorbachev turned our attention during his recent visit to the Ukraine.

What is at issue here? First of all I would like to say that the processes of restructuring, especially in the sphere of the economy, are complex and require time, and that it is impossible to simplify them. Many problems accumulated over the years of stagnation. We cannot do everything immediately and in the way that we would like to. Furthermore, many labor collectives have still not assimilated the principles of economic accountability, especially in brigades, on building sites, and in workshops, and as a result of this, feelings of dependence remain as before.

On the other hand, the further we go down the road of restructuring, the more new questions it poses for us, and there are simply no ready answers to them. We must look for answers and make decisions. In order to do this in good time and correctly it is necessary to improve methods of work, and to take fuller account of the opinions of specialists and labor collectives.

The budget deficit has become one of the most painful problems today. The increased monetary incomes of the population remain undisposed of because the necessary stocks of commodities are absent. This gives rise to queues, speculation, and dissatisfaction. In the Verkhnedneprovskiy, Pyatikhatskiy, and Sofiyevskiy rayons alone there are about R230 million lying in savings accounts. In order to solve this problem provisions have been made in the republic to ensure, as early as this year, that wages being paid out are fully covered by the output of consumer goods, and to further increase the production of goods, which will include production at reprofiled enterprises of defense branches. Of course, in all of this we must abide strictly by the well-known principle: Pay for what has been done, and for what has been really earned.

There are still many difficulties and elementary shortcomings in the implementation of social programs, said the speaker. By way of example, the local organs of some rayons of the oblast are far from making full use of the rights accorded to them and of the potential for improving the trade and consumer services of the population. It is often the case that essential goods are not on sale, plans for the retail turnover of goods are not fulfilled, and, moreover, in the Pyatikhatskiy Rayon this has been so for three years. Many types of services are developing poorly, primarily the repair of shoes, clothing, and household appliances. It is clear that village and rayon soviets of people's deputies are insufficiently occupied with the work of consumer cooperation and communal services. There is likewise no case in which the struggle against alcoholism and drunkenness, various forms of offences, and criminality may be removed from the agenda.

There are also many problems in the social sphere in the town of Volnogorsk. Its inhabitants give voice to just reprimands in connection with the absence of a modern trade center and consumer services complex, the low quality of television transmissions, and shortcomings with regard to proper amenities on the territory. Every day the citizens have to encounter other inconveniences which make life more complicated and have a negative effect upon their mood. All of this is the result of a well-known old ailment: The lion's share of resources has been invested in the development of production, and the individual, with his needs and requirements, has been forgotten.

However, in recent years, when this "residual principle" has been gradually being overcome, a great deal more could have been done if the party raykom, the rayon soviet executive committee [rayispolkom], and the union ministries of light metallurgy and the electronics industry had taken a more objective approach to the solution of social problems. The matter is now being corrected. A program for the further socioeconomic development of Volnogorsk has been worked out by the oblispolkom with the participation of the town's enterprises. If it is to be implemented everyone must work really hard.

The efficiency of the activity of those work collectives which have made the transition to new conditions, and also the work of the construction complex, the strengthening of its material and technological base, and the improvement of the working and living conditions of the builders are of crucial significance for the accomplishment of urgent tasks both in the economy and in the social sphere. Your rayons, the candidate for people's deputy said, represent one of the "bottlenecks." For example, in Verkhnedneprovskiy Rayon, judging by all appearances, the 5-year plan for new housing will not be fulfilled, and as yet it is unclear how the omission is to be made good. It can surely not be regarded as normal that a total of only 7 percent of housing here is built by the direct labor method [khozsposobom]. This also applies fully to Volnogorsk, especially to the collective of the electron-tube glass factory. In the Pyatikhatskiy and Sofiyevskiy rayons, too, although the rates of housing construction have somewhat increased, the quality of construction remains low. Life shows us that the housing program can only be fulfilled if enterprises and organizations achieve genuine mastery of the direct labor method, and if more active use is made of the resources of the population and of the potential of housing-construction cooperatives.

It goes without saying that all of this will require **an increase in the production of building materials.** We must not put this off and hope for benevolent uncles from the center, but rather seize the initiative with both hands and set about producing these goods on the spot. Such an approach gives good results: In the current year the production of bricks in the republic has increased by almost half a billion pieces. This will undoubtedly have a positive effect upon their market allocations [rynochnyye fondy] although naturally it will not solve the problem completely. That is why 30 more brick factories are being built in the oblasts and the production of other building materials is also being expanded. We will also be taking further action in this area.

It is impossible to say this, for example, about Sofiyevskiy Rayon, where local resources for the production of building materials and for satisfying the requirements of the population are not being used at all. The situation is little different in the Verkhnedneprovskiy and Pyatikhatskiy rayons. The local soviets and economic organs here must carefully and show initiative.

The speaker then dwelt upon questions of the **protection of the environment.** The problem, he noted, is not a simple one. In connection with the heavy concentration of heavy industrial enterprises, and power engineering and chemical installations on the territory of the republic, he said, there has been a substantial rise in the level of pollution of the atmosphere, and also of the water in a number of reservoirs, and in places this level has exceeded the permitted norms.

For example, in the Sofiyevskiy Rayon there has been a notable increase in the expulsion of harmful substances into the atmosphere over the last three years. Over the same period the discharge of contaminated effluent in the Verkhnedneprovskiy Rayon has risen by one-third. The humous content of the soil is decreasing practically everywhere, and processes of erosion are increasing. However, the contour drainage [konturno-meliorativnyy] system of territorial organization, which reduces erosion by 6-10 times, is not being implemented on the farms. We cannot fail to be concerned by the increased level of chemical pollution in agricultural products and fodder—particularly in the farms of the Sofiyevskiy and Pyatikhatskiy rayons. At the same time the experience of the farmers of the Petropavlovskiy Rayon of your oblast, where the chemical burden on the soil has been reduced by more than one-third, is not being disseminated. The situation which results is reflected in the following proverb: Until the thunder rolls the peasant will not cross himself.

Protection of the environment and the formation of peoples' ecological consciousness in the republic will be assigned prime importance. We plan to increase state capital investments on nature conservation measures by 1.7 times in the next 5-year plan period. Juridical responsibility for observance of laws pertaining to the use of the natural environment is increasing significantly. It goes without saying that, in accomplishing tasks of environmental protection, economic organs, local soviets, and society as a whole must work together more closely.

The successful solution of social and economic problems, V.V. Shcherbitskiy then stressed, **is possible only if we activate the enormous political activity which has accumulated in society. As the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference emphasized, this can only be done on the basis of wide-ranging democracy.**

The election campaign shows especially clearly that our sociopolitical life today is distinguished in its entirety by an unprecedented intensity. Apathy and indifference are becoming things of the past. Although there are still many people who keep silent [molchuny] and do not adopt definite positions, and also those who complain, who are dissatisfied with something or other, the most important thing is that restructuring is liberating peoples' initiative and multiplying their creative energy.

In the course of the meetings and discussions which have taken place in the past few days in work collectives, the names have been cited of many of those people who, in assimilating new methods and ways of working, are moving restructuring forward and leading their comrades behind them. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party named some of them. They were Galina Aleksandrovna Teraz, a poultry keeper at the "Yubileynyy" Sovkhoz in the Pyatikhatskiy Rayon; Yelena Vasilyevna Neudakhina, a milkmaid at the "Pobeda" Kolkhoz in the Sofiyevskiy Rayon; Vladimir Semenovich Vovk, a shunting controller at the Pyatikhatka station; Tatyana Petrovna Dovbnenko, a party functionary at the Verkhnedneprovsk starch hydrolysis combine; Aleksandr Pavlovich Garbuz, a press operator a the Volnogorsk electron tube glass factory; Viktor Alekseyevich Zbaranskiy, a brigade leader at the Verkhnedneprovsk experimental machine-building factory; Ivan Parfenovich Stupin, head of a mine at the Verkhnedneprovsk mining and metallurgical combine.

The speaker then noted that the main responsibility for directing the enormous energy of society into the channel of restructuring is being assumed by the party. In order to carry out its own, and in many ways new functions as efficiently as possible, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the party committees of the republics are first and foremost restructuring their own activity on the principles of democratism. We are trying to organize party work so that it is centered upon real, live, specific people with their day-to-day needs and aspirations—workers and peasants, the intelligentsia, women, young people, and veterans.

The deepening of intra-party democracy is making the atmosphere in party organizations markedly more lively. Party committees are orienting themselves on political methods of leadership. On the whole glasnost and electivity in deciding cadre questions are guaranteed by the necessary renewal of the leading personnel of soviet and economic organs. The cadre reserve has also been reviewed and made younger.

However, it must be admitted that the class of work both of leaders and of ordinary workers frequently does not correspond to the new tasks. Today **every party committee must be decisive and able to discard administrative methods, get down to concrete work, take decisions collegially on the basis of a deep study of life and peoples' opinions, and take support in everything they do from peoples' growing initiative. More concisely, they must lead without commanding.**

This does not happen easily, first and foremost in the primary party organizations and at the rayon level. In the course of the accountability report and election campaign serious reprimands were issued to Communists of a number of primary party organizations, particularly of enterprises of the town of Volnogorsk, with regard to the style and methods of work of the Verkhnedneprovsk party raykom, its bureau, and, personally, of its first secretary V.Ye. Streltsov. Even after the conference, as an analysis of letters sent to higher party organs shows particularly clearly, the party raykom continues to function in much the same way as before. The Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the Dnepropetrovsk party obkom are analyzing the reasons for the existing situation in order to help members of the party raykom to radically restructure their work in the spirit of the demands of the time.

On the whole much work remains to be done to ensure that all party committees and primary party organizations function vitally and efficiently, and maintain a firm course toward producing a principled position on the part of every Communist in defending the party line on restructuring, the ideals and values of socialism, and the strengthening of party, state, and work discipline.

The extension of the economic independence of the republics and a rational distribution of powers between union, republican, and local organs will be the next important stage of the reform of the political system, V.V. Shcherbitskiy further noted. The Draft General Principles for Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of Broadening Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing, which have been presented for nationwide discussion, are aimed precisely toward achieving this. We must carry out serious work on promulgating the proposals and remarks of working people. After all, the law which will be passed according to the results of the discussions must ensure the organic combination of a strong center and strong republics as the unshakeable foundation of Soviet federalism. A USSR draft law on local self-management and local economy is also being prepared. All of this will allow a full rebirth of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism in government, to essentially extend the rights of the local soviets and to increase their responsibility for the economic and social development of the regions and of the country as a whole.

Active preparations are now under way in the republic and in the country for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations.

This is not a simple matter. After all, more than 51 million people live in our republic alone, including 31 million Ukrainians, 10 million Russians, 634,000 Jews, more than 400,000 Belorussians, and many others—representatives of about 100 nations and nationalities. Each one of these has its own culture and its own requirements.

A commission is working actively in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and in the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party—the sector for patriotic and internationalist education and interethnic relations. Work is being carried out on providing legal guarantees and on extending the sphere of use of the Ukrainian language, in particular on assigning it the status of a state language, and also on the harmonious development of bilingualism in the national language and Russian. The national cultural needs of the population are being more fully satisfied, including those of concentrated national groups. In solving complex problems, including delicate questions of interethnic relations, we are unswerving in our aim of uniting all social forces on the platform of restructuring. That is why attempts by irresponsible individuals and groups to use democratization and glasnost to promote their own narrowly ambitious and frequently nationalistic interests are utterly unacceptable.

In gambling on difficulties and shortcomings, and pursuing far-reaching goals which contradict constitutional requirements and the political line of the party on restructuring, they put forward unrealistic tasks and extremist slogans, urging people onto the path of permissiveness and national dissension. Having arbitrarily accorded themselves the right to dictate, demand, and control with the intention of creating political structures opposed to the CPSU, these irresponsible elements are in absolutely no hurry at all to undertake practical work toward achieving the goals of restructuring.

We are convinced that the people of the Ukraine will decide correctly for themselves who is pursuing real goals and what those goals are, and will offer a due rebuff to political demagogues and extremists. Working people emphasize that what is needed now is not empty discussion but concrete actions and results. As far as the Ukrainian Communist Party is concerned, it is adhering firmly to its constitutional positions, and is strengthening in fact the friendship and unity of the peoples of our country, devoting prime attention to peoples' partriotic and internationalist education.

The candidate for people's deputy noted that the solution of urgent and interrelated internal and international problems will be assisted by a consistent implementation of the large-scale peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and of the Warsaw Pact member states. As a result of the confirmation of the new political thinking in international affairs it has been possible to achieve tangible progress in reducing international tension which, in its turn, has created conditions for the practical realization of the principle of reasonable sufficiency of our Armed Forces, taking into account a reliable guarantee of the collective security of the countries of the socialist community. It goes without saying that this in no way means that the imperialist sources of aggression have disappeared. The threat to peace has not yet been completely eliminated. Proceeding from this, the guarantee of peaceful conditions of life and of the required level for a modern, reliable, and strong Armed Forces was and remains an object of the particular concern to the party and the people.

In conclusion V.V. Shcherbitskiy stressed that in order for restructuring to gather strength more practical action is necessary now—such is the requirement of life. It is clear that no one will accomplish our tasks for us. Only we alone, together and by means of our friendly efforts, can and must overcome all difficulties and achieve what we have planned to achieve. That is why everyone must show more responsibility and initiative at his place of work and make every effort to attain the goals set by the party. [passage omitted].

Academician Aganbegyan Writes on Restructuring

AU0404135789 Rome ANSA in English 1225 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, Apr 4—Yet another sign of the new openess (glasnost) in the Soviet Union is the fact that one of the most authoritative advisors to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has begun writing articles for the Rome daily MESSAGGERO.

Today's issue contained the first such article by Soviet Academician Abel G. Aganbegyan; it was entitled "Perestroyka, Fact Must New Follow Hopes."

The writer said that this was a critical moment for the process of perestroyka, or restructurization, which is under way throughout the country. The Soviet Union is undergoing a transition period between the old administrative system and a new mechanism for running things, based on development and market incentives, Aganbegyan stressed.

The program is a valid one but several years will be required along with a strong political determination, to carry it forward, he went on. "The success of the economic reform at the present moment is closely tied to our capacity to know how to right the financial situation, to saturate the market with the largest possible variety of essential consumer goods and services, and to improve the quality of life so that the people can see the economic fruit of perestroyka," he wrote.

The difficulties are enormous, he admitted. The in-depth picture of the new course of perestroyka as painted by the Soviet advisor was rich in details. The account, although a concrete and well-reasoned analysis, was not without a certain tone of optimism.

Agricultural production in the USSR rose 5 percent in 1986. There were no big changes in 1987 and 1988. The importation of farm products dropped 1.5 percent for the same period due to a lack of convertible currency caused by lowered prices for oil and for almost all raw materials which represent the country's chief exports.

For this reason, Aganbegyan explained in his article, the amount of food available to the public was scarce. Profits grew by 20 percent but the availability of meat, milk, fruit and vegetables dropped in many regions.

As a result, the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee in mid-March worked up a new policy oriented towards changing the economic system in the agricultural sector to make it more dynamic in meeting the country's food needs.

The goal is to ease the problem over the next two years and to get the food supply moving smoothly and continuously to the population within five years, he said.

After writing that the farmer must become once again the real boss of the land and after explaining the latest reforms introduced for agricultural outfits and their system of production and distribution, Aganbegyan also described the new system of purchase prices in which many price hikes have been abolished, introducing instead, payment for water and for land, in relation to its fertility.

The academician also went on to outline changes in investments in the food industry sector, along with other related reforms, including the dismantlement of the ministry for cereals and of other state agencies, so as to leave room for voluntary farm association set up to coordinate their activities.

The article concluded with several reflections of a general nature.

The development of the food industry is closely connected to the production of essential consumer goods and public services, sectors which will be given ever greater priority with respect to heavy industries.

In other words. The number one objective of the current Soviet reforms is to saturate the market with food products, services and industrial goods, Aganbegyan said.

Academician Zaslavskaya Speaks on Restructuring

AU3103162789 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 29 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, "director of the All-Union Center on Public Opinion Research," by Vladimir Markov, NOVOSTI observer: "Restructuring is a Social Revolution"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Markov] Certain intellectual circles are discussing the question of whether it is justified to compare restructuring with a social revolution. What is your opinion?

[Zaslavskaya] I share the view that in order to achieve its initial goal restructuring should develop into a social revolution. First of all, restructuring directly affects the established forms of property and the structures of political power in our country. Such changes are the chief essence of each social revolution. In the second place restructuring, as it has been conceived, could not be implemented without support from the bottom, unlike reforms which can be carried out from the top. In the third place, the change that has occurred in the general trends of development of Soviet society along the path of restructuring requires that the fundamental structures of the socialist system, and the scientific concepts about this system, should be revised. The question is not only to overcome the distorted concepts about socialist society established in the eras of Stalinism and stagnation, but to adopt a new approach to socialism enriched by the experience of its construction over the last decades.

All these interdependent elements determine the revolutionary nature of restructuring.

[Markov] Viewed on a long-term basis, it is evident that restructuring has no alternatives. However, what about alternatives on a short-term basis and in a not too distant future?

[Zaslavskaya] This, to a decisive extent, depends on the variety of options according to which restructuring will be implemented—namely, the radical-democratic, or liberal-conservative option. The latter is often called the "apparatus option." It is my profound conviction, however, that the goals of restructuring can only be achieved if the radical-democratic option is applied. This presupposes a cure for the disease, while the liberal-conservative option is only aimed at healing certain isolated symptoms, while the disease itself remains "hidden inside the body." The system of measures which is being applied today is situated approximately in the middle between these two options. The balance is shifting from one side to the other.

New Column Acts as 'Perestroyka Barometer'

PM3103103489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 11, 12 Mar 89 p 13

[Frants Sheregi report: "Perestroyka Barometer-1. Probing Public Opinion on Perestroyka"]

[Text] The "MN" sociological service opens hereby another column: Perestroyka barometer. It will analyze the results of public opinion polls carried out by Soviet sociologists. Like a regular barometer, materials in this column will look at fair-weather and stormy problems in society.

The ground rules for the presentation of information will be topicality and the absence of unnecessary comments.

The first instalment was prepared by Frants Sheregi, heading the public opinion study section of the Scientific-Research Centre of the Komsomol Higher School under the Komsomol Central Committee.

People's Attitudes Towards the CPSU. According to the poll (footnote: The poll was carried out in late 1988 and involved over 1,000 residents of Moscow, Latvia, Kaliningrad, Kalinin, Kirghizia, Kiev, Chelyabinsk, Udmurtia and Moldavia, the age range being 18-60. Those polled were workers, collective farmers, engineers, scientists, artists, office workers, managers and servicemen.), the CPSU is presently viewed as a party representing the entire people rather than a social class. Only four percent believe that the "CPSU should recruit its members mainly among industrial and agricultural workers", and only eight percent said that the Party should "represent all strata of the working population proportional to their share in the country's population". Another five percent believe that the "Party should be open to everyone". The opinion of the majority (83 percent) is that the CPSU should incorporate only the "most deserving and politically active people regardless of their social background".

Principles Governing Elected Bodies. An active and pluralistic approach to the elections of the people's representatives is deemed necessary by 78 percent.

The Idea of the Possibility for a person to occupy a post in the Party and simultaneously being a chairman of a Soviet proved to be controversial. Only 20 percent of those polled are for combining those two important posts in one person on the level of local Soviets (against are 44 percent, and another 36 percent are still undecided). The main argument of those disapproving of the idea is that a concentration of power in one person can ultimately lead to its usurpation.

The issue of the possible usurpation of power can be resolved through limiting the term of office of leading posts, which is favoured by 85 percent of those polled, including 30 percent in favour of a maximum of one five-year term in office and 44 percent in favour of a maximum of two five-year terms. Eleven percent are in favour of a third five-year term as an exception, and only 15 percent don't believe in the need for any such limitation.

The Democratization Issue. Fifty-seven percent of those polled approved of the principle that "everything is permitted which is not prohibited by the law" as a pledge of democracy, while 23 percent believe that this principle would open the door to anarchy (20 percent were undecided). Nineteen percent of those below 30 feared anarchy and 57 percent older than 40.

Assessing the Principle of Glasnost, public opinion seems more consolidated: Ninety-five percent of the polled spoke in favour of broadening glasnost, with opinions dividing only on matters concerning its implementation—65 percent believe that "no one should be prohibited form expressing any opinion or assessment concerning any issue, including political ones", while 32 percent believe that "one should be free to say anything which does not run counter to socialist principles". Three percent of those polled think that only thoughts "completely in accord with the CPSU official line" in matters of politics should be admissible.

Criticism of Stalinism is favoured by 38 percent, including 66 percent deeming it "particularly effective for returning the country's society back to health" and 22 percent generally approving of it but considering certain press stories as "overstepping the line" in tone. Only five percent think of such stories as disinformation and two percent as "benefitting our ideological adversaries".

Constructive Cooperation between the state and the church is viewed by 70 percent as a most important criterion for broadening democracy and openness. Only five percent approve of confrontation between the state and the church.

The Assessment of Aid for foreign countries is of special interest. This issue draws much attention because it is linked with the circumstance that aid is financed from the public purse and thus has a direct bearing on public interests.

According to the poll's returns, only cultural aid is universally approved of (92 percent). Political aid for foreign countries is approved of by 77 percent, economic aid by 32 percent, and only six percent approved of military aid. A categoric disapproval of aid to foreign countries was voiced by three percent (cultural aid), five percent (economic aid), 13 percent (political aid), and 32 percent (military aid).

The Broadening of the Sphere of Commodity and Money Relations can rightfully be called the cornerstone of perestroyka. It is hard to asses this aspect on the level of the broad masses' conscience so far. Nevertheless, it is quite possible to probe people's readiness to accept the main principles of the market economy.

According to the poll's returns, the level of this readiness is pretty high. Thus, 79 percent (92 percent among agricultural workers and 81 percent among industrial workers) believe that social justice in labour relations consists in "enabling anyone, without any restrictions, to be paid as much money as one is capable to earn". Even more people (86 percent) approve of the family contract plan. What's more, 46 percent of the people involved in the poll consider the family contract plan for rural areas to be "the major progressive form of agricultural production organization". A mere five percent see a "restoration of kulaks" in the idea.

Sixty percent approve of the idea of offering Soviet citizens the right to buy their flats from the state and be able to pass those flats on as a legacy (only 14 percent are against). Sixty-seven percent back the idea of "letting people build houses of any size" (19 percent are against).

Kazakh's Kolbin Interviewed on Interethnic Relations

PM0304100189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Mar 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Ladin under the rubric "Interethnic Relations: Toward the CPSU Central Committee Plenum": "From Disunity to Pooling of Efforts"; place, date not given; first three paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Problems of interethnic relations are of concern to our whole society today. After being turned in upon themselves for many years, they are now bursting to the surface, sometimes taking unpredictable forms, and being fanned by extremists and slick operators in politics.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already touched on these questions when addressing the events taking place in the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics and certain other parts of the country. In preparing for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on these problems, which we know will take place in a few months' time, we intend to discuss more widely ways to improve interethnic relations and, in particular, to ask certain leaders of union republic and oblast party organizations, social scientists, and journalists to exchange opinions on this topical subject.

We publish the first conversation today under the new rubric "Interethnic Relations: Toward the CPSU Central Committee Plenum."

[Ladin] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, a certain sharpness has been imparted to the discussion of interethnic relations in Kazakhstan since you headed the republic party organization. Enthusiastic exclamations about supposedly nonexistent problems in relations among people of different nationalities have disappeared from speeches at meetings and plenums of party organs and at soviet sessions. People have begun speaking out loud about many things that it used to be considered inexpedient to make public. Has this new approach justified itself?

[Kolbin] You were right to remark that there has been a sharp shift away from enthusiasm for imaginary well-being toward facing up to the problems which had accumulated and which were deliberately not tackled by the republic's former leadership. But, you know, we could have focused attention on that interethnic tension, whipped up passions, given rise to endless debates between the conflicting sides—and stopped at that. Judge for yourself: Whom would such glasnost benefit? But right after the well-known events of December 1986 in Alma-Ata, there were attempts to mill the wind, as it were. To bemoan some purely ethnic troubles. To reduce the whole business to the redistribution of advantages between individual ethnic groups. And let everything else remain as before.

No way would this have conformed with the spirit of restructuring. Cosmetic measures to resolve ethnic and interethnic problems are not just unacceptable, but simply harmful. Not that they ever exist in a pure form. Here and there you discover their perfectly natural interweaving and interaction with sociopolitical, economic, and moral problems. Correspondingly, approaches to all kinds of acute questions with ethnic hues must be of a comprehensive nature. This is what we seek to do in practice.

[Ladin] Which measures by the republic Central Committee and government, in your view, have met with the general approval of the multinational population?

[Kolbin] There are probably several of them. And we arrived at them not in quiet ponderings in our offices. State and public establishments and party committees opened their doors wide to working people. Favorable conditions were created everywhere so that any citizen could without hindrance set forth his requests and demands to those officials on whom the resolution of burning questions depends. Meetings between republic Communist Party Central Committee secretaries, other party leaders, ministers, and leading workers of republic and local organs and Communists and working people long ago ceased to be something remarkable, and their direct participation in discussions of urgent problems, in labor collectives and at citizens' places of residence, provides much that is useful.

In the process of studying public opinion, those sectors to which the energy of restructuring had primarily to be directed were soon found. People said it was necessary to increase the pace of housing construction. The housing shortage had given rise to whole heaps of injustices, grievances, and reproaches. It was also obvious that different parts of the republic felt different degrees of concern over housing from the center. Closer to Alma-Ata people were already in a hurry to construct a second project before they had finished the first, and they dissipated their efforts and means, while the so-called peripheral oblasts and rayons grew tired of waiting for attention. Many people on the housing list ceased to believe that they would ever be able to obtain the longed-for apartments.

We decided to tackle housing thoroughly. A housing program was drawn up through 1991. When this document was published, not everyone believed that those who had registered on the list before 1 January 1987 would receive apartments by the end of the current 5-year plan. I emphasize that not everyone believed this, but what was chosen as the chief task began to unite people of different nationalities. From disunity to pooling of efforts—precisely what restructuring needs today!

During the 1st 3 years of the 5-year plan more than 23 million square meters of housing was constructed, including 1.7 million square meters above the plan. What was promised is being fulfilled: More than 393,000 families have already moved into new apartments. The waiting line for new apartments has been shortened by 41 percent. To this I will add that the construction targets for schools, kindergartens, and medical establishments have begun to be fulfilled for the first time in many years.

[Ladin] People are also noticing changes in the population's food supply. Oil is no longer in short supply, and there has been an improvement in the supply of dairy products. It is possible to obtain poultry without standing in line in almost all the republic's oblasts, at the state price....

[Kolbin] All this is true. But it is too early to be seduced by successes. The reality is that the acute situation with regard to supplying the population with diverse foodstuffs has still by no means been resolved. But it is also true that moves for the better are already noticeable. Over the past 3 years, per capita meat consumption has increased by more than 9 kg, and milk consumption by 33 kg.

In addition to housing and food, health care is also becoming an object of close attention. It was stated at the republic 12th Supreme Soviet Session that there had been a particular slackening of attention to questions of health care in rural localities. Serious misgivings are aroused by those negative consequences which are increasing because of an unwise attitude toward nature and its pollution by industrial and agricultural waste. The economy incurs great losses because of a scornful attitude to people's health in a number of cases.

All this cannot fail to be of concern. It is planned to fundamentally improve the operation of the whole health care system and change the ecological situation for the better everywhere.

Special attention is being devoted to 34 rayons of the republic where laggardness in social development is particularly noticeable.

I will say frankly: Questions of interethnic relations began to be resolved more easily when they began to be discussed openly, and when a strengthening economic base was increasingly felt beneath them.

[Ladin] Interethnic friction sometimes arises not only out of internal republican problems but also out of those that occur because of unbalanced relations within the framework of the Soviet federation. It is no secret that during the election campaign various views were expressed regarding Kazakhstan's lag behind the all-union level with regard to a number of economic indicators, including production of national income. What would you say in this connection?

[Kolbin] I will emphasize first, if you please, that the question itself of more justice within our multinational union and of observing equality not only verbally but also in our everyday affairs is unusual, and only quite recently it was not customary to discuss it. But now that the principles of economic accountability are increasingly persistently coming into effect, and now that the command and pressure method of managing the national economy is increasingly losing its position, people are increasingly frequently showing an interest in the amount of the global social product created by them, in the conformity of the labor expended and their own contribution to the all-union kitty, and, on the other hand, in the benefits which fall to their lot when the whole all-union income is divided up.

I will not hide the fact that my fellow countrymen who have had an opportunity to visit our western republics have noticed a difference in the levels of provision with everything necessary between there and here in Kazakhstan. The conclusions are not in our republic's favor. But why? There are many reasons for this. But today it can be seen particularly clearly that Kazakhstan is geared to delivering various raw materials to the all-union fund. The cost of extracting them is considerable, but we receive payment for our products that is of by no means equal worth. The republic is doomed to receive state subsidies. This year alone they will probably total R2.7 billion.

What regional economic accountability can there be until the prices for finished products and industrial and agricultural raw materials are brought into scientifically substantiated and fair conformity? Serious amendments are needed here.

Close to this problem is another one with regard to improving the republic's relations with union ministries and departments. The following data were cited at a recent enlarged session of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau: More than half the enterprises located on our territory are under central jurisdiction. But the republic budget receives only R30 million from them—some fractions of a percentage point of all their profits. Is this really fair? Do we really not have the right to reckon on the greater participation by union ministries and main administrations in developing our social, cultural, and ecological programs?

We hope that all these questions will be reflected at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations.

[Ladin] We know that specially created commissions on other questions of concern to the republic's public are working actively during the preparations for this plenum. Could you say on what, specifically, they are engaged?

[Kolbin] The republic's status and approaches to resolving urgent socioeconomic questions are being elaborated. Proposals to resolve language problems are being prepared in lively creative debates. The commissions' activities are given wide press coverage, so we have good reason to say that the republic's entire population is participating in the discussion.

[Ladin] In Kazakhstan, as in certain other republics, much is being said and written about the fact that little attention has been devoted recently to the study of native languages. This is undoubtedly true. But other facts are known, too. I recall, for example, a tragic incident on a railroad in the GDR. While driving a tank, a soldier drafted from Aktyubinsk Oblast was unable to understand an order—he had poor knowledge of Russian. This led to a serious accident. Are such negative phenomena taken into account when tackling language problems?

[Kolbin] Public opinion in our republic is tending toward giving state status to both languages—Kazakh and Russian—with guaranteed free development of the languages of all the nations and ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan. Work on developing ethnic-Russian bilingualism has become appreciably more lively, particularly since the publication of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and republic government resolutions on improving study of the Kazakh and Russian languages. Today instruction in schools is conducted not only in these languages but also in Uighur, Uzbek, and Tajik, and children study nine other languages, including German, Korean, and Dungan, in schools as native languages. Books, newspapers, and journals are published in six languages. Theaters function in the Kazakh, Russian, German, Uighur, and Korean languages.

I would like to emphasize the following point. While acknowledging the equal right of both Kazakh and Russian to statehood, we believe that special concern should be shown primarily for the language of the people who gave the republic its name. The Kazakh language needs it more today.

True, it does seem to some people that the granting of state status to a language automatically removes all problems and will in itself ensure its reliable development. Such a position is, of course, naive. However, I have repeatedly encountered instances where people verbally champion great privileges for the native language but in fact do nothing in practice. They wait for a law. There are also those who have simply chosen the struggle for the adoption of a decision on the state language as a "hobbyhorse" to achieve fame and popularity.

We need real steps aimed at asserting the Kazakh language in official business, in public and labor activity, in science and culture, in short, in all spheres where it is still not properly widespread. That is, the matter must be organized so that the number of documents in official business in both Kazakh and Russian corresponds to the real need of the population of a particular part of the republic.

I will say frankly that we possess an inefficient—and far from modern—language training base. There are still few teachers both of Kazakh and of Russian, and of other languages. Nor do we yet have good textbooks, visual aids, movies, dictionaries, or phrase books. This is where the ebullient energy of champions of languages' full-blooded existence should be directed!

The problem of Russian language study also remains acute, particularly in remote village schools. I do not think there is any need to explain once again how essential the language of interethnic communication is to a draftee. This is why the question of improving its study is discussed regularly at the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and at sessions of the Supreme Soviet and local soviets.

Incidentally, circles for draftees under military commissariats could be one way of improving Russian language skills. We have already repeatedly suggested developing this work, but this initiative has not yet become widespread.

[Ladin] Multinational Army collectives are very sensitive to the processes occurring in the republics. The Army is the part of the people's flesh and blood. It experiences the same problems that are of concern to the whole country today. Our readers would be interested to learn what options for cooperation in improving international, patriotic education you might suggest.

[Kolbin] There are many options. I would like to focus attention on principles. It seems to me that we have recently been losing cooperation. We exchange results of educational work more rarely and in a more formal way. Businesslike contacts between the leadership and party and Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] workers are being supplanted by ceremonial visits and chance meetings.

It was very rightly emphasized at the 19th all-union party conference that service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces must be a real school of internationalism. Indeed, where else would, let us say, a Kazakh, Uighur, Russian, or Uzbek guy or a youth of another nationality, from remote corners of even our own Kazakhstan, encounter such a polyglot family as in the Army?! For in some subunits there are not just 5 or 6 but more than 20 representatives of our country's different nations and ethnic groups. Together, side by side, they live and learn to defend the motherland. And this is not all. At the same time they become aware how great, powerful, and multiracial our socialist homeland is. And young people pass through a real school of interethnic communication precisely in the Army.

We are all greatly indebted to it as regards fostering international feelings in draftees. Party and Komsomol organizations and teachers are resolving this problem slowly and not always at an adequate level. Like the language problem, incidentally.

On the other hand, it seems to me that in Army collectives, too, the accents in educational work have recently shifted somewhat toward the training of specialists. The spiritual side of Army education is sometimes not backed up by results. I say this recalling reports by militia workers. Servicemen who have recently been discharged into the reserve have begun appearing more frequently among offenders and parasites. Why? Among those "rowdies" in the square in December 1986, and those who committed unseemly actions in Dushanbe quite recently—the newspapers wrote of this—there were young people who had served in the Army. How could this happen? It turns out that youths are lacking in real ideological and moral tempering. And this is not only their but also our common misfortune, our common pain.

Every party, soviet, and Komsomol worker must consider it his duty to help the Army in preparing worthy reinforcements for itself, as well as in work on servicemen's international education. It is necessary to revive the former close ties between labor collectives and military units, ships, military higher educational institutions, and posts. We can also organize joint work on the study of languages. How good it would be to greet after service not only excellent specialists but also hardened internationalists, who have learned Russian better in the Army, who have, in addition to this, mastered one of the languages of the USSR's peoples, and who have enriched themselves in the Army with the culture of interethnic communication and with knowledge of the fundamentals of the Leninist nationalities policy.

More attention should be devoted to this. I am sure that we should begin by creating an integral system of international education. We for our part have already done some things in this direction. An interethnic relations sector has been set up at the Kazakh Communist Party

Central Committee. Permanent commissions on interethnic relations have been set up here, too, as well as at the republic Supreme Soviet, under the Komsomol Central Committee and oblast and rayon party committees, and in trade union organizations. The republic sociopolitical center for propaganda of the Leninist nationalities policy is working actively.

This system makes it possible to study problems that arise in relations between people of different nationalities, to adopt decisions in good time, and to forestall the emergence of any interethnic conflicts. In other words, it makes it possible to be not passively on the defensive, but actively on a constant offensive.

This is now our wont: Leaders of Russian nationality take it upon themselves to resolve problems of concern to Kazakhs, and vice versa. The representation in leading organs of the most able, enterprising, competent, and authoritative comrades of other nationalities, of which there are more than 100 in Kazakhstan today, is growing.

In conclusion, I wish to say: Our strength lies in friendship and mutual assistance. There must be no place in our life for what hinders this and gives rise to disunity and dissension. The success of restructuring lies only in the pooling of our efforts, in our unity.

Political & Social

Brazauskas Interviewed on Lithuanian Republic

AU3103153089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 89 p 7

[PAP-TASS attributed report on interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania, by TASS correspondent Algimantas Degutis and PAP correspondent Maciej Pedzich: "There Is Only One Path—Understanding and Friendship"]

[Text] Wilno—During an interview given to PAP and TASS, Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuanian, said: "Everything that promotes mutual confidence and respect should provide a basis for joint action." Extensive excerpts of the interview appear below.

Assessing the situation in Lithuania, he said that the ideas about renewal and revolutionary restructuring, which was initiated in April 1985, have prompted a high level of civic activity. Democratization has unleashed a flood of ideas, emotions, and initiatives. This has led to the establishment of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring (Sajudis), the "Greens" movement, and the "Wenibe-Jednosc-Yedinstvo" socialist movement for restructuring. Youth ecology clubs, various national cultural central centers, and numerous other self-governing organizations have been set up. They are focusing their attention on pressing problems that require immediate solutions, and are advancing many proposals concerning social equality, ecology, culture, public education, and the struggle against bureaucracy.

A concept for the republic's economic independence has already emerged. In 1990 it will become one of the first republics in the country to start operating under the new conditions of republican economic accountability. Concrete steps have been launched with a view to improving the ecological situation. Lithuania's past is being objectively assessed. The effects of Stalinism have been condemned and the mass deportations that took place have been deemed violations of the law. Relations are being developed with the clergy on the basis of mutual understanding and dialogue. Legislation has been passed making Lithuanian an official language in the Lithuanian SSR, thanks to the joint efforts of specialists, scholars, representatives of the intelligentsia, and the republic's leadership. National symbols have returned to political life: The tricolor has become the republic's state flag and W. Kudriki's national anthem has become the state anthem.

[Question] Poland occupies an important place in Lithuania's international activity. This stems from both deep historical roots and the state of present-day cooperation. What are the prospects for further contacts?

[Brazauskas] The ties between our republic and fraternal Poland really are close and productive. Our history contains both dark and bright elements, and we should base the present and the future on the latter.

Soviet Lithuania has maintained friendly contacts with voivodship party echelons in Bialystok and Suwalki since 1962. There are regular exchanges of party and social organization activists, specialists, and work brigades.

We are pleased that it will soon become possible to establish direct contacts between the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. This will make it possible to find comprehensive solutions to matters relating to our cooperation.

[Question] Restructuring in Lithuania has seen the commencement of a process of national revival. How is this affecting the ethnic minorities that live here?

[Brazauskas] The constructive resolutions that were adopted at the 19th all-union party conference have prompted a significant increase in civic awareness and a revival of national feeling that not only applies to the Lithuanian people, but also to the other national groups that live in our republic. Many of the problems that have accumulated are being treated in a bolder and more forthright manner. It is not just that these problems are being raised; solutions are also being found.

It is a question of, among other things, ensuring that the national minorities in the republic have a right to publicly manifest their national awareness, and of creating conditions that will facilitate the preservation and development of their cultures. They all have a right, with the assistance of party echelons, state institutions and in line with social principles, to set up schools and classes, publish newspapers and periodicals in their native language, and to establish various kinds of societies. Today, Russians, Poles, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Jews, Tatars, and Karaites have established independent social and cultural associations that are becoming increasingly active.

[Question] In recent months the Polish press has carried numerous articles on the life of the Polish community in Lithuania. Quite a number of problems are being raised. For example, the decree making Lithuanian a state language has given rise to some misgivings....

[Brazauskas] While being concerned about its own rights, the Lithuanian people recognize that representatives of other national groups living in the republic have the same rights. I think that the emotional reaction that has surrounded the decision to make Lithuanian a state language is due to some extent to a lack of confidence between various nationalities, which is the regrettable legacy of those times when the perverted Stalinist model of relations between peoples was in force. We resolutely declare that the present situation will not see violations of the right of representatives of other nationalities, including Poles—native inhabitants of Lithuania—to use their native language.

During my meetings with Poles, it was suggested that an appropriate government commission be set up for the purpose of conducting a comprehensive examination of the position of Poles living in Lithuania, and examining trends in the economic, social, and cultural development of regions where Poles constitute a majority and the rate at which such development is proceeding. Today I can tell you that a commission of this kind, which will also deal with the problems of other national groups, has already been established.

Restructuring has placed new tasks and issues on our agenda, and we understand the hopes of national minorities, including the Poles, that the best possible conditions will be created for ensuring that the national, cultural, and social needs of all peoples living in Lithuania are satisfied. Lithuania is our common home, and there is enough room in it for all those who are concerned about their own problems and those of others.

I know that the Polish press has recently stressed that the number of Polish schools in Lithuania has declined. This is true. There were more than 250 such schools in the first postwar years, and today there 92. However, I would like to point out that the number of Lithuanian schools has also declined, especially in the countryside. In addition, many parents who speak Polish in the home—this is particularly apparent in the Siauliai region—send their children to schools in which Russian is the language of instruction, and one reason for this is that they want it be easier for their children to study at college. I think that high school education should be provided in a person's native language: Lithuanian, Russian, or Polish. However, it would not be possible for us to create groups in which Polish is the language of instruction at college level. We simply lack the instructors. However, we guarantee that candidates for admission to colleges can sit entrance examinations in Polish. I am also in favor of increasing opportunities for Polish students to study at Lithuanian colleges and for Lithuanian students to study in Poland.

[Question] What likelihood is there of a Polish consulate being established in Vilnius?

[Brazauskas] Last year, during the course of negotiations between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic [PPR] a basic agreement was reached on establishing a PPR consulate general in Vilnius. This became widely known in Lithuania—as is evidenced by numerous letters and public statements on this subject—and people have expressed the justified wish that a similar Lithuanian SSR institution should operate in Poland. As far as I know, the Polish side has responded to this with understanding. It should be stressed that both the Constitution of the USSR and the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR allow republics to maintain consular and other relations with foreign states.

However, there is no precedent in Soviet diplomatic practice of a republic establishing a diplomatic mission in another state. The novel nature of this issue at the all-union level has caused the delays in resolving the question of the exchange of consular or other representations in a way that is acceptable to both sides.

[Question] All kinds of unofficial associations and social organizations have been set up since restructuring started. There is a Polish Social and Cultural Association, attached to the Republican Cultural Fund, operating in Lithuania. The "Friends of Vilnius and Lithuania" recently held an inaugural convention in Poland, and a Friends of Lithuania Club has been recently established. How do you view their activities?

[Bazauskas] We support the activities of the Polish Social and Cultural Association in Lithuania. It has about 10,000 members at present. Meetings are held in towns and areas where there are Poles. The association will hold a republican inaugural convention in April. We, for our part, will assist the implementation of its resolutions, which will serve to further develop the aspirations of the Polish community in Lithuania and promote social integration in our republic.

We know that clubs of friends of Vilnius and Lithuania have been established in Poland. The establishment of these clubs pleases us, and we wish them every success.

Nationalist Activities in the Ukraine Detailed

LD3003194189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 27 March carries a 45-minute program entitled "The Flight of the 'Boomerang'" about nationalist activities in the Ukraine. The opening caption on the screen reads: "In the cycle 'by force of circumstances'." The narrator is unidentified.

The program begans by showing Lvov townscapes in winter and an Intourist bus traveling on a road. A group of tourists are seen standing in falling snow, listening to a guide talking about the town hall. After initial generalizations about tourism, the narrator invites us "to listen to an old Lvov resident, Svyatoslav Ignatiyevich Panchishin," who is seen shuffling along in the snow.

The scene changes to indoors, where Panchishin is seated at a table in a comfortable room containing a piano; he talks in Ukrainian with superimposed Russian translation. Panchishin talks with nostalgia about Lvov being his whole life. The unidentified correspondent prompts him to talk about his secret life, unknown to the people in Lvov, who knew him only as a surgeon and traumatologist. In that life he was known as Doroshenko.

Panchishin talks about leading a double life; nobody knew about it, not even his wife, though there were moments when he was tempted to talk about it.

The camera then focuses on a close-up of a plaque on the wall of a building, which reads "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Committee of State Security [KGB]."

Two men, one an unidentified correspondent, the second captioned "K.K. Vysotskiy, leader of a detachment of the Ukrainian SSR KGB," are shown entering a room inside the KGB Building. The room is a museum containing exhibits, of guns for example, confiscated at one time from Ukrainian Banderite nationalists. The two men stand inside the room speaking Russian. Vysotskiy says: "We are in one of the rooms of the study of Cheka glory of the Ukrainian KGB. You can see a whole collection of weapons and other, well, espionage equipment, which the special services of the Banderites were supplied with in the postwar period. There are still many people who once belonged to the bands of the Association of Ukrainian Nationalists [OUN] who took part in the struggle against Soviet power brandishing weapons, but the overwhelming majority of these people long ago condemned and reconsidered their participation in that struggle, adopted the correct outlook and now play an active part in public and labor activity. However, the Banderites and other OUN members think that there are a number of persons among them on whom they can rely. That's the basis, so to speak, if one can put it that way, on which they count."

The camera then returns to Panchishin who is talking to a correspondent about his involvement with Banderite-OUN people. Everything began with people in the West taking an interest in him, he says. He reported this to the right quarters—to the KGB—as being the only sensible action to take. The narrator says that only 20 years after the event did the world hear about "Operation Boomerang," a major counterintelligence operation mounted by the KGB against subversive Banderite centers; until then the illusion was created in the West of the existence in Lvov of a well-conspired underground movement. Dozens of Soviet and Polish Cheka members joined in the game and later on a Kiev man of letters Yuriy Ivanchenko would join them, while "the resident of the Lvov Banderite security service, Doroshenko" was for those years, "awarded the Gold Cross of Stepan Bandera," becoming a member of the OUN central board.

The scene changes again to show Vysotskiy talking to the correspondent who wonders whether it was really necessary to risk the lives of ordinary Soviet people such as Panchishin; he asks Vysotskiy if he worried about it. Vysotskiy said it was a great responsibility to ensure the safety of such as Panchishin and Ivanchenko and they had to work with them a great deal to prepare them psychologically and to help them prepare information which was requested by the center, so that suspicion should not fall on them regarding their involvement with the KGB. There were very many difficulties he said.

The narrator stresses the dangerous game Panchishin was playing emphasizing that Banderites dealt very cruelly with people whose loyalty was suspect. The screen shows KGB archive film of men meeting and going into an apartment. The narrator says the film was taken in the mid-1970's; it shows Doroshenko-Panchishin in a street in Lvov meeting a visitor from abroad. Again the narrative stresses the danger of the situation if there was the slightest mistake.

The scene returns again to the apartment in which Panchishin talks in Ukrainian to the unidentified correspondent who asks him about his career as a surgeon. Panchishin outlines his work in the sixties in Moscow in the field of reanimation. On the subject of involvement with Banderites, he said that they checked him out and later instructions and small tasks followed. Panchishin continued: "I obviously carried them out well, so they came to believe in me and started entrusting me with much more complicated tasks. It ended with them beginning to demand I give them an analysis of the political and social position. So this knowledge was processed and I passed it on abroad as information, and that's when Doroshenko began to exist."

The scene returns to the correspondent interviewing KGB man Vysotskiy. He asks about the shady deeds of knights of the cloak and dagger over the 20-year period. Vysotskiy says: "Naturally, neither Panchishin nor Ivanchenko, nor others, carried out any kind of sabotage, terrorist acts, or things of that kind. They mainly gathered information on questions which interested the Banderites and such information was prepared with our assistance using real facts which took place. Take the following examples: The center was very interested in the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station and requests literally poured in to report all this in greater detail and as fast as possible to the West, to the center. This was because they were maintaining that all of this was done deliberately, that this was an act of ethnocide against the Ukrainian people, that these were the calculations of perfidious Moscow, and so on. Therefore, they obviously wanted somehow to substantiate, to get hold of, some kind of evidence. Instructions were given to collect samples of soil, water, leaves, and vegetation. Well, naturally we did this in such a way so as not to inflict damage on the interests of the Soviet state, so as not to give material which would distort the true situation. Therefore, when preparing this information, as a basis, we took the information which was given by our authorities to the IAEA, the International Atomic Energy Agency; this information was not published openly in the press, although the main clauses were reported. We then added a little to it from the rumors which were circulating at that time, and this information fully satisfied the center. Afterward, over those years, there were many incidents in the Ukraine of various kinds, which could be regarded in various ways—either that they were the result of some kind of technical fault or of hooliganism—but Panchishin and Ivanchenko reported in their pieces of information that they were the result of action by their group."

The video then shows the Lvov railway station and a platform quite full of people next to a Lvov-Przemysl train marked as such on the side of the railroad car. The camera focuses on passengers getting on the train and on the mass of packages and suitcases on the platform. The narrative stresses that the station is a tourist landmark. The above train is shown departing. The narrator adds: "Dr Panchishin, leaving on this train for the West, didn't promise anybody anything. He was taking with him carefully prepared information for the friends abroad and knew that he had to return without fail."

The scene returns again to Panchishin being interviewed by the first correspondent in the same room as before. The correspondent asks him if there were times when things were very complicated. Panchishin said yes, there were many, and goes on to give an example: the first meeting by Western demand with an emissary on foreign soil. He said he was shaken by the demand to go abroad because he had received no formal training in intelligence and had no accurate data about the emissary in question. The meeting wasn't even in the capital, but in a large provincial town, a voivodship, as the Poles call it. There, he came to the railway station and met a man. His instincts told him this was the man he wanted. After the first meeting while still in Poland, he understood that his task was not a straightforward one. He feared the burden placed on him, but began work in a determined frame of mind. Prompted by the correspondent, Panchishin talks about risk-taking in the medical profession as a comparison with his intelligence work.

The scene changes to the Luchakovskiy Memorial Cemetery in Lvov, where a man in civilian clothes is setting up camera equipment and taking photos; two individuals are among the graves; a crowd of tourists visits the cemetery. Noting that only recently have people become aware that remembering and respecting the dead is a token of the moral health of new generations, the narrator says that the cemetery is now a tourist attraction. However, he says, some tourists don't show an interest in the history of the cemetery, preferring to go off on their own into the most secluded corners of the cemetery.

The camera gives a close-up of a man captioned as "G.A. Grag, employee of a directorate of the Ukrainian SSR KGB for Lvov Oblast." He is shown speaking in Russian to an unidentified correspondent inside the same cemetery. Grag says that they are standing next to a spot discovered to be a drop for information from the West. He explains that many tourists visit the cemetery, and as such it is a suitable place to leave information unnoticed. Here a place was found which served for many years as a place to deposit various information, instructions, and literature from the West. He describes the spot, pointing to a place near a grave, noting that it is undetectable in both winter and summer. He adds that a nearby television camera filmed the activities at the hiding place when it was used. The final piece of film in this section shows a distant shot of a man on his own, moving something with his foot and picking something up.

In the next section the narrator reads three sentences from instructions from the OUN center, sent to Panchishin's group via the hiding place, urging the group to step up work with young people in the USSR, and the Ukraine in particular, and to recruit them into the underground to fight for the freedom and independence of the Ukraine in line with the ideas of the OUN. The above is accompanied by video, showing masses of paper and documents, the cover of paper from the spine of a book, and bits of paper being unfolded to reveal messages.

The scene switches briefly back to the Lvov cemetery, showing a guide addressing a tourist group in Russian at the grave of Markian Shashkevich.

The conversation with Vysotskiy resumes, with him saying: "The subversive activity was conducted pretty actively, with both trips by emissaries and deliveries of subversive literature and technical equipment. It was a question of creating teams in an illegal underground, since the doctrine was preparations for and the unleashing of a nuclear war. Naturally, the special services, pinning their hopes on the Banderites, believed that they were in a position to create strong points on our territory, where in the event of the situation worsening, one would be able to drop sabotage groups and carry out acts of sabotage on our territory against vital installations and so on. In other words, they were depending seriously on this center." Later, he says, the center passed on a Roneo copying machine. Texts of materials supplied were copied but not distributed. Copies were simply sent to the center via emissaries to confirm that such an operation had been carried out. Video shows papers being fed into a Roneo 270 machine; copies being run off manually; close-ups of printed matter.

The next section of the program shows two men sitting and talking on a bench in a landscaped area off a busy street. The same unidentified correspondent talks to a man captioned "A. Minkowicz, employee of the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs." The latter speaks at length in Polish with superimposed Russian translation. He notes that the "Boomerang" operation which began nearly 20 years ago affected the interests of two sovereign states, the USSR and Poland, and that at a certain stage it became evident that the departments of the two countries involved in maintaining national security needed to cooperate. The Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs and the USSR's KGB joined forces in the operation. He explains why the name "Boomerang" was chosen. The whole thing backfired on the Banderites. He emphasized the OUN's need to recruit more young people—who weren't necessarily interested—as old cadres passed away.

This next section shows road traffic, a camera picking out a light-covered van and a Mitsubishi car, a young man having his U.S. passport checked by a security man and his Mitsubishi being thoroughly checked out. Two young men stand to one side as their van is inspected, revealing concealed literature underneath a panel. Further scenes from the Warsaw airport show close-ups of a Polaroid 600 camera being taken apart to reveal concealed literature and a thick wad of dollars. The narrator stresses that tourism is a good cover for bringing in illegal materials under the guise of gifts for poor relatives. A week later the material would be in Panchishin's hands. The narrator reads the new instructions from the center for the immediate mobilization of the people's efforts and readiness for the ultimate sacrifice in the event of armed struggle against Moscow.

Panchishin is shown again, saying he wouldn't have achieved anything over the 19 years if it had not been for the help and moral support of the KGB. He thanks the KGB for opening his eyes to the truth and for teaching him a bit about secret life. The moral support is the main thing he says.

The program then focuses on young people caught out by the KGB for illegal activities. The narrator points out that some tourists travel to Lvov on a mission "ordered and paid for by our ideological opponents." The film shows a young man walking near the Intourist hotel in Lvov and subsequently in a room being politely questioned and cautioned for breaking the law by a KGB officer aided by a Russian-English interpreter not shown on camera. The narrative names him as (Taylor Cameroon), noting that when threatened with being deported from the USSR, such people willingly spill the beans about instructions they were given. The next video sequence shows a young woman in a room signing or writing a statement for the KGB. Her name is given as (Marta Kolomiyets) from New York. This woman is then seen interviewing Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mikhail Horin, both Ukrainian human rights activists, speaking in Ukrainian with superimposed Russian translation, about today's Ukrainian youth. The video then shows a very large public meeting in Lvov addressed by Chornovil and Ivan Makar, a friend of Chornovil. At one point people in the crowd are clapping; at another, heckling. The speech in Ukrainian dwells on the tragedy of the Ukrainian nation in the 1940's and 1950's and proposes that monuments should be put up everywhere in the Ukraine for the freedom of the Ukraine. The Russian narrative says that Makar proposed putting up monuments to perpetuate the memory of Stepan Bandera. The crowd chanted "no" to the proposal. The narrator notes the speaker's lack of success in rousing people to his ideas.

This section shows a square in Tartu. A sole speaker from the Ukraine, talking in Ukrainian, addresses passers-by from a small platform raised in the center of the square. An elaborate formation of people bearing flags and banners stand around the platform. The narrator names the speaker as Vladimir Maksimovich from Lvov who has come to share the black tragic days of 1939 with the Baltic people. The narrator explains that he is referring to the period when the Balts voluntarily united with the USSR. He goes on to point out that people like him could lead to a new Sumgait and a new Karabakh on Soviet soil. However, Soviet conscience and intellect will not allow it, he adds.

As the programme draws to an end, video shows close-ups of the Shlyakh Peremohy [Road to Victory] newspaper, printed in Munich, and an article by Chornovil plus a picture of him. The camera focuses on a front-page slogan reading "Kiev Against Moscow." There is a shot of Panchishin with his walking stick walking in a street in Lvov. There is a brief view of the unidentified correspondent speaking to an unidentified man in the street about the end of the"Boomerang" operation. The unidentified man responds with: "Who told you that the operation has ended?" The program ends with aerial views of Lvov and a clip of a tourist group listening to a guide as they look upon the town from a hillside.

Public Poorly Informed on Chernobyl Accident

PM0404134189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by A. Illesh: "Letter Is Topical, It Must Not Be Published. How Departments Understand Glasnost After Chernobyl"; final paragraph is IZVESTIYA comment]

[Text] Reader N.A. Zakharchenko has turned to IZVESTIYA. Depressed by what is in his view the incomplete information which has so far been available to Belorussian inhabitants who came within the zone of "operation" of the Chernobyl disaster, he asked us some questions. But, alas, the editorial office had no precise, convincing, or, most importantly, complete answer. What was the reader asking about? About the dangers of living in places close to evacuation regions, about foods which are sold and produced in the Gomel region, about the special money paid to some inhabitants of what are (in his view) dangerous places, but not to others.... In brief, questions perfectly natural for someone in a difficult position.

...But the position, even 3 years after the explosion in Chernobyl, is not simple, with regard to both glasnost and safety, and with regard to how to live in peace and develop power engineering. One physicist I know who specializes in reactors called the people's attitude toward the nuclear electric power station [AES] "atomic allergy." Where did this disease come from?

Here I turn again to the letter from our subscriber in Belorussia.

And so, without sufficient information to answer the author, we sent his letter to the Belorussian Council of Ministers with the request that it ascertain the situation and give Zakharchenko and us clear answers to the questions put in the letter. Papers finally came from Minsk. One was from V. Kritskiy, deputy chairman of the republic's council of ministers; the other was signed by Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Deputy Health Minister V. Buryak and Civil Defense Staff Chief A. Grishagin. What do they contain? It turns out that "...he raises extremely topical problems, worthy of great attention, relating to safeguarding the health of the inhabitants of a number of rayons of Gomel and Mogilev oblasts who were...in the radioactive contamination zone." And also: "...Comrade Zakharchenko's letter has been examined.... The republic's government constantly focuses attention on the questions raised in the letter and is very interested in their objective coverage by the mass media...."

Well, then there follow several pages of recommendations to the newspaper as to how this should be done. And at the end an absolutely unexpected summing up: "Considering the fact that this letter, despite certain positive aspects and the topicality of its subject, views the problems raised in a very superficial and incomplete way, and in addition presents them in a form which will only aggravate the negative attitude of inhabitants of monitored zones toward the work which is being done in the republic to safeguard their health, we consider it inexpedient for Comrade N.A. Zakharchenko's letter to be published in IZVESTIYA.

So that's it! There's logic for you! So why should the letter still not be published, dear comrades? Because it is topical or because it raises questions on which you "...focus attention?"

On six of these pages of subtle departmental cunning the main argument in defense of their own position is that "the local press has given virtually all the answers to the questions raised by Comrade Zakharchenko." And—as a knockout blow: "The information on all these (medical—A.I.) questions was supplied to the population living in the contamination zone in the volume necessary (?!—A.I.) to safeguard their health...."

But, forgive me, who defined this "necessary volume?" And why after all the explanations does the newspaper continue to receive letters full of questions? Collective letters with tens and hundreds of signatures? And why should the publication of a map of the republic's "contamination" (almost in time for the third anniversary!) instantly..."get rid of all problems?"

Indeed, if only this approach had distinguished the masters of just one geographical spot. Alas.... This prohibitive thinking, this strictly departmental view of what is happening outside the window of an exalted office, is something very widespread. The division of information "according to size" into information which only they can know and information which, in their view, should be given to the population, and the absolute certainty of their own infallibility, have not been dispelled even by Chernobyl. Departments believe it possible not only to give advice to the mass media.

"...Showing corpses and burned people, exploiting these facts with philistine arguments, and giving subjective assessments of what happened are aimed at forming in the viewer and in the public an opinion opposed not only to the development of atomic power engineering as a whole and against some of the government commission's actions...but also against the country's state system."

And their conclusion is prohibition!

What is being discussed and who has shouldered the responsibility for such stern judgments? P. Verkhovykh commented in this way on the semidocumentary film "The Threshold" produced by the Dovzhenko studio (with the participation of the Central Documentary Film Studio). Who exactly is telling the artists what to do? The deputy minister of medium machine building. The experts demand that there should be excised from the film "information about the contamination level...exceeding the limit of what is allowed," "information about indicators of the deterioration of physical ability to work and the loss of professional skills...of the personnel working...at the Chernobyl AES or of people brought in to work to eliminate the consequences of the accident."

But why cut up the picture with scissors? It turns out that the special problems described by the new film do not exist. Why? Because there is an order to keep quiet about such things....

Actually, perhaps the film makers have laid it on too thick and have succeeded in finding a black cat in a coal cellar in the dark?

From the letter from A. Krasin, deputy chairman of the council of veterans of the Chernobyl AES: "M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Chernobyl AES. The brevity of his visit and the increased and excessive organization prevented us from notifying him of the range of problems which have faced us since the elimination of the accident. This was also the result of our lack of experience and skill in dealing with leaders of this level. The edited reports in the mass media enhanced the impression that our life at Chernobyl is without problems. Yet that is far from the truth...."

And the author, in venturing to say this, does not omit to provide proof: "...The majority of those who have been working in the contamination zone for about 3 years have not undergone clinical medical examinations. In the fall of 1988, rumors appeared about instructions from the Ministry of Health regarding a quota for examinations and treatment at the all-union radiation medicine scientific center. But personnel with a warrant from our number 126 medical and sanitary unit were not accepted for examination in the overwhelming majority of cases. Not accepting or treating them, not spoiling the picture of the overall artificially created well-being that exists only on paper—those were obviously the secret instructions. And as a result for our comrades who have suffered radiation contamination, there is no record of the link between the 'clusters' of illnesses and ionizing radiation, or at any rate participation in work to eliminate the accident. During the meeting I told Mikhail Sergeyevich about turbine shop machine operator A.D. Ogintse, who in 13 years' work at the Chernobyl AES had had only three sick notes (for ORZ) [expansion unknown], yet now he spends most of his time in hospitals. Moscow's number 6 hospital put him in the third invalidity group for general illness. But if it is a general illness why is medicine not mastering it? There are many other examples.

"In September 1988 a decree of the USSR Ministry of Health created the Central Interdepartmental Experts' Council for establishing the causal connection between illnesses and participation in work to eliminate the accident. It looks as though its main purpose is to deny this link. This 'medical service' looks particularly criminal with regard to children. The unfailing conclusion that a child is 'healthy' without looking, without listening, without examining!... Yes, children are a special subject. I cite a graphic example: The medical cards of Kiryanov's children state that their illnesses are the result of their father's alcoholism and drug addiction. And the doctors did not know that O.K. Kiryanov not only does not drink but does not smoke! This highly moral man was a senior foreman and shift party organizer. What did the disappointed medical workers at the children's hospital do? They...immediately rewrote the children's cards. Alas, there are many such cases.

"Dissatisfied with this state of affairs, the council of veterans asked the USSR Ministry of Health to include in the council of experts (to establish the causal connection of illnesses) empowered representatives, and representatives of the Chernobyl AES labor collective. The department's reaction was unequivocal—USSR First Deputy Minister of Health Sergeyev categorically refused. Having discussed this question at the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], we returned again with our appeal to the Health Ministry. But the leadership there, without resorting to diplomatically obscuring the issue, rejected our appeal. It is true that it was wary of recording this on paper...."

Yes, this logical kind of conduct is as familiar as toothache. How many times have journalists seen their articles shortened: Don't write, for instance, about drug addicts, corruption, or the pollution of the atmosphere. That will only aggravate the problem! How many times have they behaved like ostriches, strenuously hiding their heads in the sand? Yet in the meantime the problems have not disappeared, as the administrators would like, but have flowered and taken root. Distrust in the mass media has also taken root, because life has shouted about what newspapers have passed over in silence. Do the prohibitions surrounding atomic power engineering not call us to a second "circle?" After all, with every day that we let slip it becomes increasingly difficult to treat the "atomic allergy." The lack of precise information generates rumors which are hard to dispel because of the prohibitions and restrictions. And in the meantime people write. And on the envelopes of their missives are addresses in the "special zones" which are not supposed to exist after the 27th CPSU Congress. That should not be....

From the editorial office. It has become known to us that steps are now being taken to remove the restrictions from many "atomic" data which are still secret. This step toward glasnost cannot fail to please us. But so far we cannot give our readers more accurate or specific data—neither the deadlines nor the "dimensions" of the permitted glasnost. One thing is clear: So far the departments are failing to understand that only complete openness in questions of atomic power engineering and its safety and the consequences of Chernobyl can cure the radiation phobia which has now gripped the population of the afflicted regions and bring back a sensible attitude toward the construction of new AES's. Indeed the very existence of atomic power engineering will meet with understanding in society only when a citizen who through the will of fate has become the neighbor of such a station can find out everything and about everything.

Draft Law on Languages in Moldavian Republic

LD0104167189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0645 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Kishinev, 1 Apr (TASS)—TASS correspondent Dmitriy Chubashenko reports:

Draft laws "On the Status of the State Language of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]" and "On the Functioning of the Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR" have been presented for discussion in the Soviet republic in the southwest USSR.

The appearance of two draft laws in one "bundle" can be explained by an aspiration to determine in a comprehensive way the legal status of all the nations and ethnic groups living in Moldavia. The Moldavian language is being given the status of the state language in the republic. The Russian language retains the status of the language of interethnic communication. The drafts also envisage equal rights for the development and application of the language of the Gagauz ethnic group, most of which lives in Moldavia, and likewise of the Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Yiddish languages and the languages of other nationalities which reside in close proximity to each other in Moldavia. The draft laws prohibit propaganda of enmity or of contempt for the language of any nationality, and prohibit the creation of artificial impediments of their utilization.

Thus, giving the Moldavian language the status of a state language does not infringe on the rights of the people of other nationalities to use their own native tongue. The state language is becoming the working language for Moldavia's bodies of power and administration. It is to be used at sittings and conferences. The draft law guarantees translation into Russian or into other languages which exist in the republic for people who do not speak Moldavian. The acts of the bodies of state power and administration are to be adopted and publicized in the state language and in the Russian language.

It is expected that the drafts will be discussed by the public over a period of 2 months. Then the republic's parliament will examine them, taking into account comments and ammendments which come in.

Armenian Paper on Closure of Nuclear Power Station

PM0304094689 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 19 Mar 89 p 1

[ARMENPRESS special correspondent S. Babadzhanyan report: "Last Command Given: Armenian Nuclear Power Station Stops Work"]

[Excerpts] Something unprecedented in the history of the power industry has happened. The Armenian Nuclear Power Station has stopped work forever. This is the first instance of the effective elimination of an operational nuclear power station that is technically in perfect working order. This step reflects the great concern of the Communist Party and the state for Armenia's working people, and moreover the decision was adopted under conditions in which the Transcaucasus is experiencing an urgent need for energy capacity.

Under a USSR Council of Ministers resolution the nuclear power station's first unit was stopped 3 weeks ago—on 25 February—and the second and last power unit last Saturday—18 March. [passage omitted]

Thus the republican working people's wish was fulfilled: The nuclear power station, which gave its first current in December 1976, was stopped. Since that time the power giant has generated 48.5 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, playing a major role in the development of the republic's national economy and its power-labor ratio.

Naturally, the closing down of the nuclear power station complicates power supplies both in Armenia and in other regions of the Transcaucasus. To safeguard the work of industry, agriculture, and transport and provide for domestic needs in the republic, a number of measures are being implemented and a struggle is under way to ensure economical utilization of electricity. At the same time work is under way to make up for the shortage and replenish the energy system with new capacities in the near future. Specialists will soon begin work on the formulation of technical and economic documentation for redesigning the nuclear station as a thermal station.

After the closing down of the power unit, S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and N.F. Lukonin, USSR minister of the nuclear power industry, talked with workers and employees at the station on questions of concern to them, inquired about the problem of finding jobs for the collective's members, and announced that after the closure of the nuclear power station work will be provided for its workers on the spot. Measures will be carried out to provide amenities for the settlement of Metsamor and develop it, and it is planned to build a large number of social facilities and a considerable quantity of housing. Metsamor will remain and will develop as a city of power workers. Its inhabitants will become workers at the future thermal power station.

Shortfalls in Armenian Reconstruction Noted

LD0104121889 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] Yerevan April 1 TASS—Over 300 Armenian villages were hit by the devastating earthquake in December last year. A special programme was drawn up in the wake of the disaster to help restore life back to normal, build new housing and production centres. Its implementation was entrusted to the USSR Agroprom committee.

A regular session of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo commission took place here on Saturday to evaluate what has been done in the first three months of 1989. The session was chaired by Ivan Silayev, deputy prime minister of the Soviet Union.

108 construction teams from all over the country and 4,000 local residents presently engaged in cleaning up, restoration and new construction, have been able to meet the targets for the first quarter. The debris of 3,000 buildings were removed, livestock farms and processing factories repaired. Designers completed master plans for 228 villages, in which all housing as well as communal buildings will be able to stand earthquakes measuring up to nine degrees on the richter scale.

In some areas, however, reconstruction and new building fell short of the goal. What has been completed there amounts to no more than ten per cent of the target for the year.

The commission described the shortfalls as inadmissable and demanded that Agroprom strictly adhere to the schedule.

The session also focussed its attention on the efficiency of the republic's seismological service. It voiced support for a request of the Spitak party committee to set up a geodynamic observatory and a national geological park in the quake's epicenter.

Ministers Retire, New Minister Appointed in Armenia

NC0104112989 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 14 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers has relieved Comrade Viktor Madveyovich Agababov of his duties as deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR State Planning Committee, in connection with his retirement. It also relieved Comrade Tigran Vardgesovich Tarbasyan of his duties as deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources, in connection with his retirement.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers appointed Comrade Rubik Stepanovich Andreasyan as deputy minister of land and reclamation and water resources.

Former Armenian Party Officials Rehabilitated

NC0104121689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 1 Apr 89

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has discussed the issue of the rehabilitation of the following persons: Galoyan, the secretary of the collegium of the party's supervisory comittee overseeing Armenia, affiliated to the All-Union Communist Bolshevik Party Central Committee; Arutunyan, the former party secretary of Ashtarakskiy Rayon; Yeritsyan, the former head of the collective farm in Ashnak village in Talinskiy Rayon; Ambartsumyan, the former director of the machine-tractor station in Vartenis; and Gevorgyan, Dadayan, and Vartanyan, formerly employees in the soviet and economic sector of the republic.

During the 1930's and 1940's, these persons were charged with [word indistinct], condemned for participating in the counterrevolutionary, nationalistic, right-wing Trotskyite terroristic movement, for conducting anti-state activity, and for denigrating the party leader, and were subjected to various penalties.

The republican and soviet procuracy bodies have declared the court decisions regarding these persons to be null and void, on the grounds that the court's proceedings were invalid because of lack of evidence. In accordance with this full judicial rehabilitation, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has rehabilitated Galoyan, Arutunyan, Yeritsyan, Ambartsumyan, Gevorgyan, and Dadayan as party candidates and has reinstated Vartanyan as a member of the CPSU.

Azerbaijan Central Committee Member Dies 31 Mar

NC0104074189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 1 Apr 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] It is with deep regret that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers announced that Zakir Nariman ogly Bagirov, member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and deputy of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, passed away after a serious illness on 31 March 1989. He was 60.

The republic's party and government leaders and cultural officials have signed the [word indistinct] that has been published in the newspapers.

Azerbaijan Civil Defense Weaknesses Critiqued

PM3003133189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Captain First Rank G.G. Babayev, Azerbaijan Civil Defense chief of staff, conducted by AZERINFORM correspondent A. Guseynov: "Civil Defense Is Our Common Concern"—first three paragraphs are journalist's introduction; date, place not given]

[Text] The very name "civil defense" explains the purpose of its existence: to teach people to look after themselves in special, extreme circumstances. And not just when the situation is military in nature—as the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station accident and the earthquakes in Armenia and Tajikistan demonstrated.

Azerbaijan, as is well known, lies in a zone of enhanced seismic activity, and a number of major enterprises which are potentially dangerous to people and to the environment in the event of accidents are located on its territory. All this, as well as the growing strain on the environment and its social consequences, makes it imperative that protective measures be expedited.

Your AZERINFORM correspondent asked Captain First Rank G.G. Babayev, chief of staff in the republic's civil defense, to describe the state of affairs obtaining in Azerbaijan's civil defense and the practical steps being taken to improve it.

[Babayev] I would first like to note that the protection of the population against weapons of mass destruction remains the main task of the country's entire civil defense. I stress this because some people have gotten the impression that this function of civil defense is inexpedient, given the course of demilitarizing international relations announced at the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. But the protection of the population from the consequences of accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters is also regarded as one of our service's chief tasks.

The Azerbaijan SSR is a very difficult region from the standpoint of protecting the population and national economic installations. The presence of an adequate number of mobile, well-trained forces equipped with all the necessary resources and equipment is thus an important prerequisite for successfully solving the tasks that face the republic's civil defense. And these, it has to be frankly admitted, the republic does not have at present.

The existing nonmilitarized units, including those in a state of enhanced readiness, are inadequately trained. They are generally able to operate effectively only at their own facilities, where they have a good knowledge of the distinctive features of the industrial processes. But even these formations cannot be quickly transferred to the scene of disasters because of a shortage of transportation. The situation is made still worse by the fact that there is at present no local warning system at potentially dangerous installations.

We intend to draw the attention of party, soviet, and economic leaders to these questions. Their solution brooks no further delay, particularly as the situation can be markedly improved through concerted efforts.

The fact that many of the civil defense chiefs of the republic's cities, ministries, departments, and national economic installations offload their functions onto leading staffers—not all of whom, as a rule, possess adequate authority and competence—is a substantial drawback. On the other hand, how is competence to be acquired if the classes at republic, city, and particularly interrayon courses are extremely poorly attended by leading personnel?

And just look in general at who is appointed to civil defense posts. They are quite often people who are very far from understanding our service's tasks, and they are appointed without coordination with us. And some ministries and departments have unwarrantedly axed civil defense workers in connection with the reduction of the apparatus establishment.

Civil defense workers' salaries have now been considerably increased. This must be used to recruit knowledgable, experienced people. It would be desirable for cadre policy today to be based on recruiting former military servicemen who are being discharged in connection with cuts in the Armed Forces.

Civil defense protective structures form an important element in protecting the population in extreme conditions. But their construction schedules fail to be met year in, year out, and they are constructed to low standards and in breach of technical requirements. Moreover, a considerable proportion of them are not used for national economic purposes—which leads to premature decommissioning and neglect.

The observation and laboratory monitoring system should be of great assistance in exercising constant monitoring of the environment. And this is done as far as possible, although the laboratories need more up-to-date equipment, instruments, and reagents. This is an important area, and it requires serious attention.

[Guseynov] Our conversation with you, Gyulaga Guseynovich, shows that restructuring in civil defense has not yet built up momentum. But have these tragic events really taught nothing? Can you really offer our readers today only the picture so far described?

[Babayev] I have reported to you the way things are today. Of course, the experience in work to clear up the aftereffects of accidents and other extreme situations has shown up the weak points of civil defense. They were pointed out by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, in an interview he gave to a TASS correspondent after the Armenian earthquake.

Questions concerning the radical restructuring, strengthening, and further improvement of civil defense are currently the focus of close party and government attention. But a radical change is needed in people's attitude to civil defense as one of the most important social and defense tasks. It is essential, given the restructuring of our republic's economic mechanism, for civil defense measures to be fully in keeping with the transformations under way, and economically effective. We must at last learn to protect ourselves against the kinds of disasters that have befallen us.

Peaceful Situation in Baku; Curfew Violations Noted

NC0304094489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0430 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Notice by the Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] There has been no change in Baku and the republic as a whole. The situation is peaceful; no violations of law on an interethnic basis or of general public law and order have been recorded.

A total of 71 people and 10 vehicles have been detained for violating curfew hours. Appropriate measures have been taken against them.

[Signed] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District.

Nagorno-Karabakh Publishing Industry Amalgamated

LD3103115189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] An editorial and production association has united the publishing process, printing, and book trade in one entity on the whole territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. It has great plans: one more mass printed organ, the socio-political and literary-artistic magazine ARTSAKH [ancient Armenian name for Nagorno-Karabakh], will be added as early as July to the newspapers—one for the oblast and five for the rayons—which are published in the autonomous oblast. It will be issued six times a year. The initial circulation will be 5,000 copies.

Besides this publication, an editorial office for books being set up here will present a great opportunity to local authors to get their works published. And, of course, the start of construction in Stepanakert of a new printing office in spacious work rooms, where modern equipment for offset printing will operate, is an important piece of news.

A program for the radical reorganization of the book trade has been defined. The special administration committee for NKAO has adopted, in particular, a decision to bring all bookshops together in a financially autonomous organization, which will also fulfill the functions of a book base and a central library.

Well now, we think that yet another step has been taken to overcome the backwardness which has occurred in the development of the social and cultural sphere over a long period of years.

Astrakhan Obkom First Secretary Interviewed

PM3103143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with I.N. Dyakov, first secretary of Astrakhan Oblast Party Committee, in Astrakhan by own correspondent Yu. Shcherbinin: "I Will Not Accept Complacency. On a Communist's Ethics and Honor"; date not given; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Astrakhan—"A really authoritative personality has finally appeared in the Astrakhan Oblast leadership. He is Oblast Party Committee [Obkom] First Secretary I.N. Dyakov. We workers at the ship repair and construction yard nominated him as candidate USSR people's deputy. We ask PRAVDA to support our proposal."

That letter was largely typical of the tempestuous political campaign that preceded the recent elections for USSR people's deputies. But as to the candidate.... We are used to leaders at this level being elected by the people virtually automatically. But—we will be blunt—Dyakov is not an ordinary man. He has headed the Astrakhan Oblast party organization for less than a year and his name is already widely known. The CPSU Obkom first secretary's prestige among Astrakhan people can be judged from the election results. The oblast newspaper VOLGA reported yesterday that 96.5 percent of voters voted for I.N. Dyakov.

This inspired us to ask Ivan Nikolayevich to directly join in the discussion of the subject of party ethics inaugurated by the newspaper 14 February.

[Shcherbinin] Ivan Nikolayevich, I would like to begin our conversation with the following question. Party committee leaders at various levels have repeatedly been heard to say that it has become difficult to work and that the press constantly undermines their honor and authority. They claim that party workers now have no social protection either from above or below.

[Dyakov] Difficult to work? When was it ever easy? Who ever found it easy? Office-bound personnel who measure their "greatness" by the number of phones on their desk did indeed have a quieter time. They secured a nomenklatura job by hook or by crook and scowled their way to retirement. Not for nothing is there a popular aphorism that states: "The job determines awareness." Hence the declining morality and ethics of such leaders. What is the role of the press in this? Such people are now finding it more difficult not to work but to keep their jobs. If you work well and honestly the people will back you. But if you put all your effort into producing hot air, slogans, and attractive but unrealistic programs people will not support you.

[Shcherbinin] Could you perhaps call on something from your own experience to illustrate that?

[Dyakov] I was elected first secretary of Krasnodar CPSU City Committee [Gorkom] in 1982. It was a very difficult time. Investigations were under way into numerous mafia cases. I experienced the lot: Threats were made against me and inflammatory banners attacking me were displayed in the city. But Communists supported the party gorkom's line, because we examined every case openly rather than behind closed doors. People who were found guilty had to publicly account for their actions. The people trusted you to be their leaders; they are your judges.

For instance, we looked into whether rayon soviet executive committees were allocating housing fairly. We uncovered loads of violations. One chairman was dealt with by the relevant organs. Four others had to be reprimanded and have their CPSU membership cards endorsed. We could have immediately raised the question of dismissing them. But it was decided to give them a chance to rectify their shortcomings. They all reported to their party organizations. And that is a hard thing for a leader. They explained themselves through the mass media. This cut the ground from under the feet of loudmouths who were trying to use the example of a few degenerates to slander the entire party.

[Shcherbinin] Talk about party ethics isn't new. They were widely discussed in the twenties. Why does the subject continue to crop up?

[Dyakov] We are the reason. Communists have a program and statutes which state clearly what can and cannot be done. But people aren't robots. They can't be programmed. Not everyone, unfortunately, is self-disciplined or spiritually steadfast. A good way to avoid temptation is to be always in public view. To be available to people.

The door is now open to everyone in all our party committees. The fear that people would just wander into offices and stop others working proved unfounded. People are entitled to talk or write to a party worker on any issue. Each request must be examined. Over the past 6 months the party obkom has received 2,500 citizens. We have received more than 12,000 letters, of which 1,300 were collective letters. Around 3,000 complaints have been settled. Every letter has been dealt with by specific people, including people from the veterans commission set up by the obkom. Yet until recently certain complaints from Astrakhan people were literally ignored. Their writers were accused of troublemaking and sometimes even of mental sickness....

[Shcherbinin] But surely the obkom cannot deal with every complaint. What's more, its apparatus was recently cut by 30 percent.

[Dyakov] We should not just use the apparatus in our work. The obkom comprises around 200 people. We should make wider use of the aktiv and primary organizations. We cannot let those who are indifferent about what happens to people go unpunished. For instance, those guilty of persecuting the Communist P. Kramorev—a secondary school teacher at Buruny settlement who openly opposed the administration's attempts to "improve" the school's indicators via overreporting—will be held strictly responsible. Kramorev also has personal shortcomings. But can these be used to justify the fact that the prosecutor's office and the Narimanovskiy Rayon People's Court held the man in detention for 3 months?

In general it should be said that during the years of stagnation thousands of people suffered for their civic stance, boldness, and desperate attempts to break the vicious circle of immorality, favoritism, and timeserving. They were not sent to camps, as was the case during the Stalin years, but many of them had their careers wrecked and were left with unrealized creative potential and plans. Justice requires that such people's reputations be restored, that conditions be created for their active participation in restructuring, and that those guilty of persecuting them be punished.

[Shcherbinin] People quickly notice good changes. A letter to PRAVDA reads: "Many people are pleased with the activeness displayed by Obkom First Secretary I.N. Dyakov. But he still has the same assistants who worked under Borodin. They are an impediment to restructuring...."

[Dyakov] That judgment is too categorical. All experienced party workers should not be seen virtually as enemies of restructuring. Indeed, there is only one new arrival at the Party Obkom Secretariat. N. Stoletov, who was invited in from the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, has been elected to replace K. Voronova, who used to handle agrarian policy. The remaining secretaries were almost unanimously reelected by the conference for a further term. This means that the aktiv trusts them.

Communists "dumped" those whose activity failed to come up to present-day demands—above all in terms of moral and ethical norms, you will note. Thus, for instance, the party obkom does not include Yu. Kruglov, deputy chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom], or A. Leonov, the now-former chairman of the city soviet executive committee. The former lacked personal modesty in obtaining a new apartment, the latter was not principled in allocating housing.

[Shcherbinin] Are we talking about another "prestige" apartment block?

[Dyakov] That, too. Some time ago, soviet and party workers moved into a new apartment block in the city center. And they did so against regulations and without any justification—not to mention their conscience and decency.... Naturally, we were inundated with complaints. In February last year the CPSU Obkom Bureau instructed the Kirovskiy and Leninksiy Rayon party committees to examine the question of the responsibility of the guilty parties within primary party organizations. Instructions were issued and people felt reassured. But wrongly. We recently had to return to this resolution. We published the Obkom Bureau decision in the VOLGA local newspaper and named specific names and jobs. Admittedly, the word "former" was placed in brackets before many of the names.... In order to put a stop to such excesses in the future, the oblispolkom has been instructed by the CPSU Obkom to set up a commission comprising "ordinary" people on the housing list along with representatives of the public. They will have greater commitment in reviewing the use of the housing stock.

[Shcherbinin] Recently the party obkom has been increasingly using the press and television as a means of fostering a sense of responsibility among leading cadres.

[Dyakov] That, I think, is another—and very effective—opportunity for public monitoring. For instance, last summer the party obkom was inundated with complaints about Astrakhan's poor water supplies. We made the leaders of the departments in question explain themselves on television.

[Shcherbinin] People are saying that Astrakhan CPSU Obkom can be phoned day or night. On any point....

[Dyakov] We have a direct line for that purpose. It is rarely quiet. Leaders of various services and departments are on duty. Particularly at night. Incidentally, certain administration chiefs have been able to see for themselves just what their services look like at night.

But direct phone lines are just a form of first aid. They cannot replace direct contact with people. At the oblast party conference, for instance, delegates from Akhtubinskiy Rayon sharply raised the question of distortions in the economic and social development of Baskunchak settlement. This discussion took place on a Friday; by the following Monday a group of leading specialists and I had traveled to the area. We spent days clarifying the situation and meeting with the public. People were able to have a face-to-face look at those on whom their everyday life depends.

There are many problems in the oblast that have built up over the years. These include agricultural backwardness, housing difficulties, ecology.... Nothing can be put off till tomorrow.

[Shcherbinin] Engels claimed that each class and even each profession has its own morality. This, of course, doesn't mean that there are as many different kinds of morals as there are professions. But the ethics of party workers are nonetheless something special. What's your opinion?

[Dyakov] Putting aside the philosophical arguments about ethics, I nonetheless believe that the moral image of leaders is determined by their attitude to people. And, of course, their personal decency. Indifferent people cannot be decent.

A group of people misappropriating fish stocks was once uncovered in Astrakhan. The CPSU Obkom reprimanded M. Karakulkin, former chief of the All-Union "Kaspryba" Association, and endorsed his party card. He was dismissed "in connection with his retirement." But with the former oblast leadership's support the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry gave the "pensioner" the post of director of the Astrakhan department of the "Gidrorybproyekt" Institute and permitted him to retain his previous salary, which far exceeded that allowed for the job in question. Well, we will deal with Karakulkin. But those who connive in such actions, including ministry workers, remain beyond our control. And that's a pity.

[Shcherbinin] Under the conditions of restructuring the question of observing the principles of social justice has become particularly acute. Readers' letters suggest that party workers still enjoy benefits that are unavailable to many.

[Dyakov] "Physical" privileges, of course, should be eliminated. We have closed the stores for CPSU Obkom workers. The out-of-town retreat for high-ranking guests has been handed over to the oblast sports committee. Kids from the children's home now convalesce at the party obkom first secretary's former dacha.

We ourselves rent dachas for the summer in resort areas. I see nothing wrong in that. After all, many enterprises have their own leisure retreats. Incidentally, we pay 2-3 times more for dachas than we do for apartments.

Owing to the shortage of dairy products in Astrakhan, certain leaders had sovkhoz milk delivered to their apartments. How can that be right?

Or, for instance, we went to Baskunchak. The director of the salt combine invited us to a meal in his special office. We went into the workers' dining room. It was dreadful—everything was filthy and pathetic. But the director's office had clean tablecloths. We didn't eat with the director. But we drew conclusions.

Various excesses and arrogance inevitably become a barrier alienating leaders from the people. Modesty, honesty, and humanity are valued just as much as competence and professionalism.

[Shcherbinin] After the brief report in PRAVDA (31 December 1988) that—apart from two workers—a writer and a conservatory rector had been elected to the new Astrakhan Party Obkom Bureau, people started phoning the editorial office. Some were confused, others delighted. And there were some who thought that it was just an attempt to be different.

[Dyakov] I know you can still encounter the opinion here and there that the intelligentsia are not the people who count in our life or in party work. They're not the working class, people say.

Incidentally, the writer A. Shadrin's election as a CPSU Obkom Bureau member came as a surprise to him, too. And I believe that the creative intelligentsia today embodies precisely the revolutionary, creative spirit that distinguishes real people from indifferent people.

I am not in favor of all-forgiveness, of course. Party workers need strong-willed qualities such as firmness and intolerance of shortcomings. But nonetheless the most important thing is not to be indifferent. Party workers unable to share people's lives and understand them would do best to look for a new job.

Uzbek Forestry Industry Ministry Abolished

LD0104103389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 1 Apr 89

[From the "Novosti" program]

[Text] Yet another blow has been inflicted to the apparatus of officials and bureaucrats in Uzbekistan. According to a decree of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic, the Ministry of Forestry Industry, whose existence has always bewildered sensible people, has been abolished. Indeed, in the republic, where four fifths of the territory is desert and mountains, there are no forests as such, with the exception of several national parks and reserves. However, it seems that the State Committee for the Protection of Nature will be able to manage them successfully.

And this was not a 1 April joke!

Republics' Role in New USSR Criminal Code Examined

LD3103141089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 1 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Vytautas Piesliakas, docent of Vilnius Law Faculty, entitled "Are We To Remain Simply Interpreters Again?"]

[Text] **What Type of Criminal Code Are We To Have In Lithuania?**

Just before the New Year, the Soviet press published a Draft of USSR and Republic Criminal Code Principles. The final version of this draft will take long to prepare, and specialists will be able to scrutinize it very carefully. State criminal policy principles and the direction they are expected to take, within the next decades, will be evaluated in this draft. Also, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Criminal Code will be based on these principles.

Although democratization and institution of a law-based state are being described in beautiful terms, I think, the draft is a reflection of the epoch of stagnation. Not a single republic jurist has participated in its preparation, while remarks by republic scientists, presemted during deliberations of an earlier draft version, have been totally ignored. By reading the draft one gains the impresssion that the science of criminal law has not made any progress during the past decades. In concrete terms, the new principles' draft is not so new, after all. It can be characterized as old laws that have been divided. A new scientific concept for combatting crime is not apparent in the draft, because such a draft, unfortunately, does not yet exist. **Criminal law principles are, in effect, the Criminal Law Constitution. It sets the basic crime fighting policy ideas, the principles for criminal responsibility, USSR and union republic competency in establishing new laws, and other fundamental questions. Principles do not determine actual criminal responsibility. All this is left to the republics' decision. They do, however, determine principles by which union republics will adopt their criminal codes.**

Some of the most important questions before the public are: Does the Draft give union republics independence? Are we going to gain additional rights? Or, will the 15 new republic criminal codes once again resemble one onother like twins, differing only in format and cover color?

Unfortunately, if such a principles edition is adopted as is envisioned by the draft, the republic is not going to gain additional rights. These principles regulate general questions of criminal law to such a detailed extent that they become similar to the Criminal Code. For instance, barely 7 draft articles (from 76) state that union republics may add to standard statutes. Naturally, a reminder is not forgotten stating that this may be done, providing it does not oppose standard principles and general statutes. Union republics, in essence, are accorded room for trivial and inconsequential changes.

Here are several examples of "central solicitude." Article 13 of the Draft Principles states that citizens over 16 years of age can be held criminally responsible. At the same time, it states, in cases stemming from certain criminal offenses, citizens over 14 years of age can also be criminally charged. This is nothing yet. The principles, however, further list the offences that merit criminal charges against offenders from 14 years of age. Can this question not be determined by the republics themselves, since they are aware of their young citizens' social maturity characteristics? The republic criminal codes have not yet been adopted, after all. Perhaps the legislator of republic laws may not consider some of the listed acts as criminal at all?

A similar tendency also appears in Article 36 of the Principles. Here one finds terms for freedom deprivation. It declares freedom deprivation terms cannot exceed periods over 10 years. Concurrently, it points out, certain types of criminal offences may draw terms of up to 15 years. In order to acquaint the republic legislator with crimes meriting longer terms, a list of all such criminal offenses is also provided. There is no independence! Everything is spelled out and determined in advance.

Thus the only things offerred to the republic remain the correct translation of union law into Lithuanian and its accurate incorporation into the republic criminal code.

How should part two of the draft's article one be evaluated? It is asserted here that union laws determine responsibility for offenses against the state and military offenses, while under **urgent circumstances, they are also responsible for other offenses, aimed against USSR interests,** and also for offenses against peaceful gatherings and people's safety. Are union organs once again to issue orders to us regarding which acts on republic territory we shall have to consider criminal, what penalties should be given the offenders, and what articles should be added to the republic's criminal code?

Article 73, paragraph four of the USSR constitution states that USSR and union republic law principle determination falls under union jurisdiction. However, on 17 December 1988, the union press carried a standard act that can hardly be regarded as constituting legal principles. It is an exhaustive collection of the general portion of criminal law statutes. It regulates criminal law relations to such an extent that any attempt to improve the law while preparing Lithuania's criminal code would involve new statutes, immediately resulting in a collision—i e. it would contradict union laws.

Perhaps there could not have been a different draft of principles. This is, after all, the end result of the long-nurtured attitude of USSR as a unitarian state. The supercentralization of the country's public domain could not have avoided affecting the jurists' consciousness. Some of the well-known union law specialists have doubts, even to this day, on the accuracy of union republic criminal codes.

Since a new association of nationalists has been created, there remain no specific differences, in the republics, that demand unique juridical regulation. Thus, a uniform USSR criminal code suffices.... Luckily, the center's ideas were not meant to become reality. Now, they are being propagated, you see, in a somewhat different fashion, as law principles....

Perhaps all has not been lost, after all. The principles are not the code. The adoption of a criminal code and establishment of responsibility for specific acts fall within the republic's jurisdiction. At least, that is what is stated in article 77, paragraph 3 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution. Another question is raised: Are we sufficiently free to be able to adopt a Lithuanian criminal code that would reflect tasks of the struggle against criminal acts which are characteristic of the Lithuanian republic? I greatly fear that in utilizing the nebulous wording in paragraph 77, article 4 [as printed in source] of the USSR Constitution—**USSR supreme state government organs hold jurisdiction (along with determination of law principles) also of legal enforcement uniformity within the entire USSR territory**—a criminal code version will be thrust upon the republic that will be no different from the RSFSR criminal code.

The standards were advertised early on, as a law, that would signify a step toward humanization of criminal policy. All that is fine. It should not be forgotten, however, that criminal laws are designed not only for offenders—that is, individuals who have threatened the lives, health, and property of other individuals. An important task of criminal laws is protection of the public from criminal acts and criminals. There is no reason to hesitate on humanizing the laws. What type of humanization it should be, and whether it will be implemented at the expense of other members of society, raises another question. Humanization of criminal laws should not be based on good intentions alone. Any factual deviations and unfounded decisions bring more harm than good to society.

Let us examine the death penalty, something of interest not just for jurists alone. It is often characterized as inhumane, as not in keeping with norms of civilized society. Examples are given indicating that many countries have abolished this type of penalty.

Finally, even scientific investigation results deny that the application of the death penalty decreases the incidence of crime. All this is perfectly true. Thus, if we are to base this on scientific findings, the death penalty should not be included in new criminal laws. Incidentally, this version was proposed by a large number of scientists. There exists, however, yet another aspect—overall judicial consciousness of society. Is society prepared to undertake such a step, and will it comprehend such humanization? I do not think so, especially considering the fact that a large segment of society is, even now, referring to present laws, that are not really known for their great humanism, as too soft, and are demanding, at every opportunity, that they be toughened.

Another question arises: Which crimes would draw the death penalty? In my opinion, this is not addressed in the best possible manner in the draft principles. The death penalty is stipulated in cases of state betrayal, espionage, terrorist act, sabotage, premeditated murder under aggravating circumstances, and rape of a minor. In civilized countries, whose laws recognize the death penalty, it is usually stipulated for use in offences against an individual's life. Perhaps we, too, should follow this principle.

It appears that too much radical discussion in the draft principles is devoted to the criminal responsibility of minors. For example, Article 68 of the principles proposes deprivation of freedom maximum punishment for minors, for up to 7 years, and only for severe offenses. This appears to be very humane: freedom deprivation for up to 7 years for premeditated murder. However, is such humaneness toward society also humaneness for the victims of criminals? Are we going to be able to feel safe at night, on the streets and at home? How should punishment of such criminals be viewed alongside others, such as a reprimand? It seems to me that this amounts to ridicule of criminal law and devaluation of criminal statutes. A reprimand may be issued by a friendly court and an enterprise director. The court must use different language to address the offender.

Currently, two separate directions for dealing with crime can be distinguished in the state criminal policy. Humaneness should, in fact, be shown in dealing with first offenders involved in light offenses, by sentencing them to punishment without freedom deprivation. Repeat offenders, and particularly serious crime offenders, demand a different type of attention. Our first concern should be protection of society from such individuals, rather than their rehabilitation. In the draft principles, this direction appears to be very foggy. I would add that the humanization of law concerns this category of individuals most of all. That means defining the application of penalty and the most dangerous repeater status.

The draft law is also being damaged by a tendency, inherited from the past, toward exceptions and unecessary small talk, possibly used for propaganda effect.

The draft principles should be deliberated seriously, competent deductions should be obtained, and proposals should be made. The republic's legal experts must make a substantial contribution. This is highly important for basic draft concepts. Otherwise, we will continue to have, for yet another 20 years, the same old laws; just as has happened with our present Criminal Code, it will soon be "grown over" with new supplements.

Police Criticized in Filling Set Arrest Quotas

PM0404150189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Feature under the general heading "'You Give Us the Man, We Will Find the Clause'—Why Can This Cynical 'Principle' Still Be Applied By Internal Affairs Bodies?" incorporating article by A. Ikonnikov, department editor with the newspaper LENINSKAYA SMENA, followed by one-paragraph editorial note and answering article by IZVESTIYA own correspondent V. Ardayev]

[Text] Alma-Ata Oblast—The papers in question are not marked "Secret" or "For Official Use" and bear neither seal nor signature. These papers are only documents by virtue of the handwritten inscriptions of those who decided to make them available for publication. T. Seksenbayev and R. Giulayev, divisional inspectors of the Chilikskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, Alma-Ata Oblast, and their former colleague A. Amurlayev, supplemented their statements with these typewritten lines, frayed at the edges from being carried around for so long in pockets and map-cases:

"Minimum:
"1. LTP (Occupational therapy units)—8 persons. For divisional inspectors in Chilik—10 persons. Those who failed to meet the target in 1987—8 persons plus the shortfall of the previous year.
"2. Article 202.1—1 person per month; 6—in the first 6 months; 6—in the second 6 months.
"3. Administrative surveillance—2 persons.
"4. Three petty thefts per month; 36 in the year as a whole.
"5. One firearms charge per month; 11 in the year as a whole.
"6. Fourteen breaches of passport regulations per month; 156 in the year as a whole.
"7. Five DL (fiduciary) cases....
[Numbering as published]
"13. The use of transport for mercenary purposes—1 per 2 months; Article 140—6 in the year as a whole.
"14. Breach of fire safety regulations—2 in the year as a whole; 1 in the first 6 months, 1 in the second 6 months.
"15. Breach of motor transport garaging regulations (Article 141)—4 per quarter.
"16. Breach of PDD (traffic) regulations—1 per quarter; 4 in the year as a whole...."

So what is this document we see before us? An aide memoire, instructions, or what? It is a plan. A plan of work for a divisional inspector for the year. In this case, for 1988. For example, point one: He must commit no fewer than eight people for compulsory treatment against alcohol abuse. Divisional inspectors at the rayon center must each commit 10 people. And those who "failed" the plan for the previous year must make up the shortfall in addition to the set figure.... Point two: Each divisional inspector must arrest one person per month under Article 201.1 of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Criminal Code (for parasitism), but in such a way that he arrests a total of six parasites in the first half of the year and the same number in the second half. And so on and so forth—the list contains 22 points in all, but we have cited only the most typical. As far as the abbreviations are concerned—"LTP" stands for occupational therapy unit; "PDD" stands for traffic regulations; and "DL" means fiduciary. And these figures are the "minimum."

The maximum, as we see, is not stipulated.

I showed these papers to two different people who do not know each other. Here are their comments.

P. Lushkov, who used to be a member of the criminal investigations department, but left the militia for personal reasons and at his own request:

"There is no doubt that these 'minimum requirements' are an unofficial order to establish the quantitative work norm for members of the rayon internal affairs department. Unofficial, without any signature, seal, or other 'identification marks,' because it is illegal. After all, a 'plan for people' obviously gives rise to inevitable distortions, and militia workers quite often have to resort to blatant breaches of regulations in order to achieve their set targets. During my time in internal affairs bodies, as a member of the criminal investigation department, I was not set such targets, but I did hear more than once of their existence in one form or another—from divisional inspectors, for example. What is more, as a rule, those who fulfill their set 'quota' on all counts are considered the best divisional inspectors. This system is convenient for the leadership—it means that there is always something specific on which to call an associate to account. It is believed that these methods provide reliable incentives for work."

Candidate of Juridical Sciences, Militia Colonel A. Ginzburg:

"Unfortunately, I fully admit that the chief of a rayon department could issue such 'work programs' to his subordinates. This depraved practice, inherited from sadly remembered times, has certainly not been eradicated everywhere and is still making itself felt. What is more, this kind of thing is sometimes done 'with the best of intentions'—to galvanize personnel and mobilize them to a more effective struggle to guard law and order and so forth. It is impossible in this connection not to recall the quota system of Stalin's time...."

Now to how these "minimum requirements" are met in practice!

On 1 May, Marat Dzhangozin met his divisional inspector in the street. He said hello to him. The other did not reply but sat him in his car, drove off, and locked him up. He released him the next morning. But a week later, Marat suddenly received draft papers from the military commissariat.

"To Citizen Marat Dzhangozin, 9, Gagarin Street, Kuram. Under the 'Law on General Military Duty' you are liable for conscription for active military service. I order you to present yourself on 5 May 1988 at 0900 hours at the conscription section at the following address: Rayon Military Commissariat, 2d Department, Chilik. Rayon military commissar (the signature is illegible)."

Marat Dzhangozin completed his active service 17 years ago. But he answered the summons. In the 2d Department they asked to see his papers, shut them in a safe, and let him go home.

"The next day, 7 May, I was taken from my place of work in the morning by the divisional inspector," Dzhangozin said. " 'Where are your papers?' he asked me. 'At the military commissariat,' I replied. 'Let's go!' And again I was locked up in a cell. He got hold of my papers the same day and immediately registered the matter with the courts. It turned out to be one big fraud—and the military commissariat was in league with them."

Marat assured us that he was in the court no longer than 5 minutes: Quickly leafing through his papers, the judge silently pointed a finger at him. This signified 1 year of compulsory treatment against alcohol abuse. The court's records say that Dzhangozin's mother allegedly could not cope with her drunkard son. In reality, however, no one even spoke to Natalya Petrovna and she was not invited to attend the hearing. At first, she just thought that her son had been drafted for some sort of military training—until, by some miracle, he managed to contact her just before he left for the occupational therapy unit. For 4 months she pestered various authorities and only in September were her efforts finally successful.

"Following an appeal from the oblast public prosecutor, the presidium of the Alma-Ata Oblast Court passed a valid resolution to release Marat Dzhangozin, of the 'Kuramskiy' State Farm [Sovkhoz], from compulsory treatment in an occupational therapy unit," I was drily informed by B. Dzhumadilov, chairman of the Chilikskiy Rayon People's Court. He also told me that a similar decision had been taken in relation to M. Dusekeyev from the Kabylov Sovkhoz.

It was only thanks to the tireless efforts of his old mother that Marat Dzhangozin found himself home again. Otherwise he would have been "treated" in the occupational therapy unit for a whole year. And then? Let us take another look at the "minimum requirements": Divisional Inspector Shukelov could perfectly well have arrested him for some other transgression; reasons can always be found, in view of the compulsory "norm." You give us the man, we will find the clause, as they say....

Lawlessness, once elevated to the rank of an order (even an "unofficial" order) gives rise to a deprivation of rights. Instead of protection for citizens, which law enforcement bodies are supposed to guarantee, people sometimes find themselves completely unprotected in the face of these bodies' arbitrary rule. But people work in these bodies. And people are not all the same. Far from everyone obediently submits to the bosses' will, expressed in an impersonal list of "minimum requirements." Here is one example.

Anuar Amurlayev is 27 years old. He, a divisional inspector, was dismissed from internal affairs on 2 June 1988 on instructions from the chief of the Alma-Ata Oblast Internal Affairs Administration "for reasons of incompatibility with official requirements." He has been without work since then.

"It is not only to do with me," A. Amurlayev said. "It is to do with the actual organization of work in our rayon internal affairs department and the atmosphere that has been created there. It is like this: If someone 'does not make a good showing,' he seems to automatically become a candidate for dismissal. The 'minimum requirements' must be met—at any price. That is the demand made of personnel. Our rayon internal affairs department chief, Berdybayev, stopped me at every briefing and asked: 'How many people have you sent to occupational therapy units? How many have you arrested under administrative surveillance?' I told the comrade lieutenant colonel that there were no habitual drunkards in my sector and that everyone released from places of confinement was behaving well and not breaking the rules of the community. His usual response was obscenities and insults. But on 20 May there was a total uproar. Berdybayev said to me at a briefing meeting: 'You should commit your own wife to an occupational therapy unit if you think that there are no alcoholics in your sector!' I could not restrain myself and replied: 'In that case, you should commit your own wife as well and we will fulfill the plan together.' I was dismissed a few days later—on Berdybayev's representation."

He complained for several months, writing letters to the oblast party committee and the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. So far, no verification measure had brought complete clarity. So he decided to turn to a journalist. Later he was joined by two divisional inspectors from the Chilikskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department—Militia Lieutenant T. Seksenbayev and Militia Lieutenant R. Giulayev. It was they who brought the "minimum requirements" for various years, certified with their own signatures.

...All that remains to report is that, according to members of the Chilikskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, they have not been issued with any "minimum requirements" this year. The instructions are: Use the old ones....

From the editor: On receiving the manuscript of this article from the author, together with the necessary documents to back it up (originals of the "minimum requirements," written statements by the divisional inspectors, recorded conversations, and dictaphone cassettes), the editorial office instructed its correspondent in Alma-Ata to try to find an answer to the question: Who is responsible for initiating such instructions, and how typical is this work practice of internal affairs bodies in Alma-Ata Oblast?

Setting a typewritten copy of the "minimum requirements" for 1988 cited at the beginning in front of T. Berdybayev, chief of the Chilikskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, I asked him to explain the origin and point of this document. Turgan Chinadilovich showed no particular surprise. He even shrugged his shoulders rather gaily:

"We have not issued any such papers in this rayon department or given them to any divisional inspectors. Nor does the administration plan our work in any way. There is no plan in the militia, nor could there be! Only Amurlayev could invent such a thing...."

I had to explain to him that, in addition to Amurlayev, another two associates had handed such documents to a journalist. T. Berdybayev looked away:

"If you told me who, I would be able to explain...." His voice trailed away, but then, not waiting for my reply, he suddenly burst out indignantly: "But what right, tell me that, did Amurlayev or anyone else have to give secret documents to anyone?!"

The conversation did nothing to make the situation clearer: rather, it did the exact opposite. I was forced to turn to Militia Colonel N. Baranchuk, first deputy chief of the Alma-Ata Oblast Internal Affairs Administration.

"We do not usually give these papers to anyone," Nikolay Mikhaylovich shook his head. "That kind of thing is not done in internal affairs bodies. Of course, some of our work may be planned in advance—but only preventive measures, certainly not a set target for arresting a certain number of people. Perhaps the divisional inspectors themselves drew up these lists as aide memoires? After all, they have as many as 90 different responsibilities! Generally speaking, this kind of document should have been treated as secret, given only to those for whom it was intended, and recorded in the log.... In any case, I cannot believe that the Chilik department could have issued such instructions to its members."

But what difference does it make whether the list was compiled by the divisional inspectors themselves or given to them as a directive? What is important is that the list does exist and is apparently implemented. In other words, people are systematically hunted down just so that a divisional inspector, rayon department, and possibly even the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) can satisfy the indicators.

Harsh criticism? But if my leader-interlocutors considered this list of "minimum requirements" illegal and amoral—and it is!—they should have sounded the alarm and exposed this extraordinary occurrence in order to stop it and cauterize it with a hot iron. But no.... Only one question concerned my interlocutors, who consider themselves to be law-abiding citizens, and that question was: Had there been a leak of departmental secrets?

I feel that these "minimum requirements" should be investigated by the USSR MVD and the Prosecutor General. That is a minimum requirement. Because—and I repeat—we are talking about people being systematically hunted down. This is not only incompatible with a rule-of-law state. It is not even very fitting for an authoritarian state.

Weekly Publishes Extracts of Khrushchev's Memoirs

LD3103165489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 31 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar (TASS)—The Soviet weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY has this week begun publication of extracts from the recollections of Nikita Khrushchev.

These memoirs, written in the years when the former first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers was on pension, were presented to the editorial department of the weekly by his son Sergey. They are devoted to an analysis of materials on disavowing Stalin's personality cult, which was carried out in the years 1953-55, during preparations for the 20th CPSU Congress.

Economic

Aganbegyan News Conference on Economy, Industry

LD0304235289 Moscow TASS in English 2313 GMT 3 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—The USSR plans to double the volume of its foreign trade by the end of the century. The main emphasis will be laid on increasing the export of manufactured products, Academician Abel Aganbegyan, a Soviet economist, said at a news conference here on Monday whose topic was economic security in East-West relations.

Academician Aganbegyan recalled that because of the fall in world oil prices (oil accounted previously for 75 per cent of Soviet foreign currency revenues) the USSR had failed to receive annually 40 billion dollars starting from mid-80s. He said that Soviet oil exports could not be increased in the coming years. This is why much attention is being devoted to projects connected with oil refining and gas processing, because the value of oil products in the world market is 5-10 times higher than that of crude oil.

He said that an agreement had been signed recently with several Italian, American and Japanese firms on the construction of a big oil and gas processing complex on the basis of the Tengiz oil field in Kazakhstan. He also said that plans of building petrochemical complexes on the basis of West Siberian oil were being examined.

At the same time, all kinds of advantages are given to those industrial enterprises which export science-intensive products. For example, unlike other mills and factories, they may keep all the hard currency they earn. "In 1987 there were 500 million dollars on the accounts of industrial enterprises, in 1988 the figure was one billion, and this year one can expect it to reach 1.5-2 billion dollars. Starting from April 1, when industrial enterprise were allowed to engage in foreign trade operations on their own, the volume of hard currency on their accounts will grow", Academician Aganbegyan said.

The retooling of machine-building and the renewal of the range of products started in the USSR are an important factor stimulating economic development. "In 1985 3.1 percent of products were replaced by new ones in civilian machine-building, while last year the figure was 10 per cent. In 1990 it will reach 13 per cent", Academician Aganbegyan said.

Touching upon the organisation of special economic zones on Soviet territory, he pointed out that the USSR did not seek to determine unilaterally the principles of their functioning. "In the process of the organisation of the first such zone on the Soviet-Finnish border the terms are being worked out through negotiations with Western firms", he said. "In the future special economic zones will be created not only in the border areas, but also in other regions of the USSR. Industrial enterprises built there will be export-orientated and at the same time will turn out goods for the domestic market".

* New Tax Measures Threaten Commercial Banks

18200291 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 13, 29 Mar 89 p 11

[Article by V. Vinogradov, V. Okhlopokov, and A. Asatiani, employees of the Moscow Innovation and Commerce Bank "Inkombank—Interznaniye": "Problems of Commercial Banks"]

[Text] They began to talk for the first time about commercial banks as an alternative to the cumbersome and inefficient system of state banks in the second half of last year.

By as early as the beginning of this year, 41 new banks had been registered; the process of their creation is getting more vigorous. These rates of growth in themselves show that commercial and cooperative banks are as necessary an element of the economic system in an environment of the economic reform as contract and lease collectives are in production.

As any new endeavor, the creation of commercial banks takes place in a difficult situation. Initially, there was a shortage of partners and clients, but by now an increasing number of state organizations are stating their intent to use a full array of services offered by commercial banks. This is understandable because, along with services traditional for the Soviet banking system, there are new ones among them. We have restored to credit its provisions which are mandatory in banking—repayment, cost, and [definite] term. Banking became profitable which, in turn, allowed us to pay our employees the kind of remuneration which they deserve due to their skills and diligence at work. A fair distribution of profits is one of the main factors which allowed us to overcome difficulties successfully.

However, our administrative system reserved for itself the right to pronounce the ultimate sentence on whether the commercial banks are to be or not to be. Now that the commercial banks have been in business for barely several months measures are being prepared which sharply curb their rights and opportunities, and in the long run call into question their very existence. For example, the USSR Ministry of Finance recently set the rate of contributions from profits to the union budget, i.e. the tax, for these banks at 60 percent! What will be left for us to provide incentives for our employees? As it is, the USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] is already "concerned" with preventing us from offering any advantages in salaries to our employees compared to the clerical personnel of state banks. For example, in its letter to the minister of the construction materials industry, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems "considers it possible" to set the more than modest salaries for compensating the management and specialists of the just created commercial bank of development of the construction materials industry which the specialists have hoped to avoid by working for us!

Excessive taxation undermines the principles of commercial operations and robs the new banks of their very foundation. Forcing them to comply with the USSR State Bank instructions which are not working out, and foisting on them mandatory tables of organization will turn out to be altogether detrimental for them. Don't the mighty organizations understand it? We are sure they fully understand this, as well as the fact that issues of the operation of new economic entities cannot be resolved by old obsolete methods. However, these methods have proven themselves many times in these organizations when it was necessary to "clip the wings" of the new entities and retain the right to non-economic coercion of everybody and everything.

* Concern Expressed Over Nuclear Heating Plant

18220074 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by V. Troitskiy, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and V. Alimov and B. Nemtsov, candidates of physicomathematical sciences: "Nuclear Heating Plants: Doubts at the Start"; first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] Gorkiy—**Chernobyl and the Challenger ended the naive belief in the fault-free nature of even supertechnology. Millions of people start to feel afraid when they learn about the grandiose plans of our nuclear power engineers to bring dozens of nuclear power units on line in the years immediately ahead. But the part of this program that envisages the rapid development of a new avenue, namely nuclear heating plants for major cities, is a cause of special concern.**

It is planned to construct nuclear heating plants (AST) in 15 cities. The first of them, and the first in the world, designed only for supplying heat, will be a plant in Gorkiy on which construction is now being complete. A second AST for industrial testing is being built in Voronezh. Its two power units with a total capacity of 1,000 megawatts are capable of supplying heating and hot water for 400,000 inhabitants. But these nuclear reactors also have one feature that make us prick up our ears: They must be located in the direct vicinity of a city.

The reasons are understandable: It costs a great deal to build lengthy heat lines (steam or water), and heat losses increase. On the other hand, for power plants located close by, the safety requirements are more stringent. The design people claim that these factors have been taken into consideration in the development of water-cooled reactors for the AST in Gorkiy, which has certainly increased costs. How can they, and the permanent fear of many thousands of Gorkiy's inhabitants be justified?

The main advantages of nuclear power engineering are the cheapness of the energy generated, the virtually unlimited supplies of fuel, and its ecological cleanness compared with energy sources derived from fossil fuels (coal, oil, gas). All of this also applies to nuclear plants, which differ from nuclear power stations in that they have no equipment for generating electric power. But it is precisely this feature that also engenders doubts about about the very idea of nuclear heating plants.

Yes, nuclear plants are able to supply a city with hot water and heating year round, including in the winter. But concern for improving living and working conditions inevitably raises the question of cooling for work premises and homes during the summer, for which electric power is required. So would it not be better to orient ourselves on the extensive use of air conditioning and set a course immediately toward the construction of electric power stations making it possible to have both heating and cooling and hot water?

With this approach the following question inevitably arises: Should those power stations necessarily be nuclear power stations? Replying to this we should not forget the opinion of the president of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, F. Press, who has claimed that "oil recovery is stable and oil prices have declined. Gas and coal are also relatively inexpensive and broad-based measures to save energy and energy-saving technologies have had their effect on demand.... The construction of nuclear reactors and power stations is now more costly. The set of measures to improve their safety and the stringent requirements at all stages of construction and in providing equipment for nuclear power stations have significantly increased their cost. For these two reasons nuclear power engineering cannot today be competitive either with thermal coal-powered stations, not to mention oil or gas, or with hydroelectric power stations."

There is an exception to every rule. Those specialists who think that the issue of making savings through nuclear heating should be decided on a case-by-case basis are right. It is essential to take into account the distance of a city from major deposits of fossil fuels, the availability of fuel pipelines near them, and opportunities for hooking into to such a pipeline. Another scenario is possible in which a special pipeline may be built for a particular city. Conclusions can be drawn only after a comparison of the total costs involved in supplying a city with heat from a nuclear heating plant and from other energy sources.

Unfortunately, as of today no comprehensive and exhaustive evaluation of the economic expediency of nuclear heating plants is being done. But even simplified calculations show that merely by improving thermal insulation on pipelines it is possible to reduce by 30 to 40 percent the losses in heat piped to homes and service premises. For a major city this kind of saving might be 1.5 to 2 times greater than the nominal capacity of an AST! In short, the economic effectiveness of nuclear heating plants for cities still has to be proved. And this is why the advisability of developing this new avenue in nuclear power engineering is causing some doubt.

Proponents of this development usually claim that the extensive use of nuclear energy is a forced step dictated by the threat of the exhaustion of reserves of natural fuels. Is this so? Let us take as our point of departure a figure of 10 billion kilowatts—the amount now available to modern civilization. Then it turns out that surveyed reserves of coal will run out after 600 years, of oil in 90 years, gas in 50 years and uranium even more rapidly (given the operation of today's slow reactors).

Our country has much more gas than the average in the world. According to figures from the International Gas Association, in 1985 its reserves were put at 100 trillion cubic meters. This is enough to support the development of all power engineering in the country (a capacity of 1 billion kilowatts) for 90 years! But still no one is about to abandon thermal and hydroelectric power stations. And this means that our gas reserves will last for more than two centuries.

True, nuclear power specialists believe that the threat of a rapid exhaustion of uranium might be dealt with by switching from the use of slow reactors to fast breeder reactors. If this is done the efficiency from the use of uranium will increase by a factor of 50 or 60. And the period of use will increase by the same factor. The trouble is that breeder reactors are extraordinarily dangerous and in the event of an accident would contaminate the environment with long-lived radioactive elements (radionuclides). Thermonuclear power engineering is less dangerous and its resources are unlimited. However, industrial application will be not be practical before the 21st century.

In our opinion, ecologically speaking, gas as the cleanest and most abundant fuel can in principle guarantee the development of power engineering in the country throughout virtually the entire 21st century. And then the baton can be picked up by thermonuclear and alternative (renewable) energy sources. But the construction of nuclear plants can be justified only in special cases and in particular parts of the country. Particularly if we take into account the fact that up to now all analysis has been done on the assumption that our designers have managed to achieve total radiation safety for the AST. How realistic is this?

Specialists make no secret of the fact that along with the so-called design accidents, seen in the form of individual breakdowns of isolated elements of the plant, nondesign accidents are also possible, with the breakdown of safety systems and errors by personnel. As are accidents, referred to as hypothetical, involving the destruction of all safety barriers at a plant, contamination of the environment with radioactive products and irradiation of a city's population. According to calculations done by the reactor designers, the probability of such an accident at an AST is extremely small—less than once in 10 million years! However, life does not always follow the calculations. At any rate it should be emphasized that the Gorkiy AST is the world's first industrial model. But no full-scale testing of similar plants has ever been conducted anywhere.

In order to imagine the measure of the potential danger we may agree with Academician A. Sakharov. In particular he has emphasized that "major accidents always occur in an unpredictable way. This applies not only to nuclear power engineering.... When it is a matter of nuclear reactors, in addition the danger always remains that they will be destroyed as the result of some act of terrorism or as the result of armed conflict. And even in the event of a non-nuclear conflict the bombing of a reactor using conventional weapons will lead to effects comparable to the detonation of a thermonuclear bomb."

Any serious accident at an AST threatens contamination of the environment with radioactive isotopes, which are especially dangerous in terms of their genetic consequences. From this standpoint the construction of nuclear projects in the immediate vicinity of major cities creates, in addition to the potential danger to life, great psychological stress for millions of the inhabitants. What other arguments are needed to abandon the idea of nuclear plants?

In our opinion the problem of heating for cities should be resolved by using large boiler plants operating on gas fuel and equipped with systems to insure a higher degree of cleanness during burning. The Gorkiy AST can also be modified to operate on gas. In the opinion of the specialists, all that is needed to do this is to construct a small building next to the main building to locate the gas boilers. And all the water-purification equipment, the pumping station, and the entire facility can be operated without further modification. All that is needed to insure the operation of the station is one percent of the gas from a pipeline that runs nearby. And the costs associated with switching to gas will run to about R10 million to R15 million while it will cost about R70 million to complete its construction as an AST.

We have been forced to submit these kinds of proposals because in our country there is virtually no social impact study of projects that increase danger, and such projects also include nuclear power engineering projects. There was talk at the 19th all-union party conference of the need to organize this kind of impact study with the broad participation of the public. But things are moving slowly, even though it would be possible to make use of experience abroad in order to hasten this.

In the United States, for example, matters of impact statements on projects and inspection during the construction and operation of nuclear power stations are handled by the country's presidential Nuclear Regulatory Committee. Its personnel evaluate designs from the standpoint of safety and they are discussed at public hearings of the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board. The hearings are announced beforehand in the press and on television and representatives of the public have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with all the material and to speak at the hearings.

It is understandable that this procedure is suitable only in cases in which the need to construct a particular project is already widely recognized. But when it is a matter of the advisability of developing a particular sector of the national economy that affects the interests of the broad masses, the approach to and organization of the social impact study should be different.

Let us take, for example, the problem of the further development of our nuclear power engineering in the country. It is common knowledge that the Ministry of Atomic Power is now reviewing a program for this direction and intends already this year to publish a draft version for public debate. In our opinion this draft should first be subjected to a nondepartmental scientific expert examination in which specialists of different disciplines—power engineers, physicians, physicists, ecologists, biologists, economists, geologists, philosophers, demographers, psychologists—would be represented. They should conduct a comprehensive evaluation not only of the purely technical but also the social aspects. And provide exhaustive answers on the place that nuclear power engineering should occupy in the country's fuel-and-energy complex, which direction should be given priority, and how advisable it is to develop fundamentally new directions (in particular, nuclear heating plants). Only after this should the draft program and the results of the preliminary expert study by the Ministry of Atomic Power be submitted for broad debate. And according to the results of that debate the USSR Council of Ministers should publicly reach a final decision. We must always remember that when solving any problem the measure of all things should be the person and his life.

Reporters Visit Shevchenko Uranium-Based Combine

PM0404120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Apr 89 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent D. Gutenev report under the rubric "Restructuring: Addresses of Experience": "Mangyshlak Without Secrets"]

[Text] Shevchenko, Guryev Oblast—Much has been written about the fine city of Shevchenko with its gardens rising up beside a picturesque Caspian bay. For a long time it was known as an oilmen's city. But it was obliged for its birth and development to quite a different kind of enterprise—the Caspian Mining and Metallurgical Combine of the Ministry of Medium Machine Building. Hitherto it had been forbidden to mention it in the press. But the new policy and the party's course of converting military production and reprofiling part of it for civilian needs make it possible to lift slightly the veil of secrecy over this project which used to be closed to outside eyes.

We—a group of journalists invited to the city of Shevchenko for the first time to familiarize ourselves with the combine's activity—are at the bottom of an 80-meter quarry. One meter beneath the soles of our shoes lies an ore body the color of a crow's wing. This ore is priceless. It contains uranium, phosphorites, and a whole range of the rare-earth metals that are so essential in power generation and electronics. Without them the breakthrough into space is impossible. It was following the discovery of these deposits that the decision was originally made to construct the combine on the deserted Mangyshlak peninsula and a city to provide for its operation....

Excavator driver V. Dyatlov, a holder of many orders, who once dug out the first shovelful of ore, said:

"We worked conscientiously, and we received our fair share of awards. But it was impossible to find a single word, good or bad, about us in the newspapers, particularly the central ones. It was as though the large labor collective did not exist. As though we were doing something forbidden—and yet the combine is not just a mine. Uranium is no longer the combine's chief product. It embraces many plants, which produce a wide range of peaceful products. It produces approximately 1 million tonnes of sulfuric acid alone, 5 million tonnes of top-quality mineral fertilizers, feed supplements, equipment and spare parts for the agro-industrial complex, and consumer goods. Some 1,500 different products. And the proportion is changing all the time in favor of nonuranium areas."

"Today," Combine Director Yu. Kuznetsov said, "special output accounts for a small part of the production volume.

"The existence of our own economically accountable science sector, with many experimental production facilities and links with more than 50 scientific establishments around the country, help us to see the perspective and quickly resolve problems of the comprehensive processing of raw materials.

"Take the nitrogen fertilizer plant. The technology it uses supplies reagents for a chemical-hydrometallurgical plant. Usually, after fulfilling their functions, the reagents would be discarded. But here they are converted into complex mineral fertilizers together with other waste from the processing of apatites."

In a matter of months the machine installation plant succeeded in setting up the production of juice containers and of bucket-wheel lifts for curds and sausage-meat production lines.

But the combine is also a city. It was constructed all at once, in a thorough way, with the maximum of comforts for the residents. At first the pioneers, who disembarked in the port of Aktau in 1959, were brought water in tankers from Baku and Makhachkala. Now the salt water of the Caspian is converted into fresh water with the help of nuclear power. It was roughly then that Mangyshlak Power Combine developed into an independent enterprise. And the Caspian Construction Administration, which had also once been a subdepartment of the combine, became a mighty enterprise. It is the body that carries out the comprehensive development of the city and the industrial zone on the combine's orders. It would probably be easier to list which city services do not come under it.

"They include," V. Yevdakov, the combine's assistant director for consumer and social affairs, explained, "passenger transport within the city, half of the medical establishments and communications, the secondary schools, 9 of the 53 kindergartens and creches, 3 or 4 apartment blocks, the movie theaters.... Everything else is under the combine's jurisdiction. We spend up to R28 million a year just on maintaining the municipal services, including R7 million out of profits."

The human factor here is not just a matter of fine words. There are modern vacation bases on the Caspian and in the Caucasus, health centers, preventive clinics, and other socioconsumer and cultural projects. Freeloading is alien to the collective. The motto—construct using our own means and resources—has become the norm. The "Flamingo" Young Pioneer Camp, for example, was constructed by everyone in their spare time: instrument control men, fitters, miners, engineers.... Its second phase will be constructed soon. The "Golden Sands" vacation zone, where 650 people can vacation simultaneously, was also constructed using their own resources. All the large subdivisions have similar corners. Each one has the goal of acquiring a swimming pool, a physical culture, and health complex....

Is the "secret project" a danger to the environment and residents' health? While preparing to leave for Shevchenko I heard about leukemia, premature alopecia, and much more. I put this question to S. Tatambayev, chairman of the city soviet executive committee.

"The radiation situation is normal," he replied. "Atmospheric pollution by other discharges is no higher than in other Kazakh cities. On the contrary, measures are being taken here to improve the atmosphere. Only a few years ago a 'fox brush' hung over the city and the sea from the chimneys of the nitrogen fertilizer plant. It has now been eliminated. Production of binding materials to take the place of cement is now being organized from phosphogypsum—waste from the chemical-hydrometallurgical plant."

So the veil of secrecy has been removed from one more enterprise. In the age of glasnost people must know what is being done on the territory where they live.

Gas Treatment Plant Being Built in Tyumen Oblast

OW0404135089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1930 GMT 1 Apr 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A new gas treatment plant is being built in the northern part of the Tyumen Oblast. [Video shows construction site, buildings, and plant in early stages of construction] The commissioning of this plant will allow for a more efficient use of valuable raw material. At the Krasnoleninsk field alone the utilization level of gas will increase by 46 percent. By 1990 the plant will be able to treat more than 3 billion cubic meters of gas. This represents more than 90 percent of fuel produced here.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2016' Satellite Launched 4 Apr

LD0504083989 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—The Soviet Union launched another satellite in the Cosmos series on April 4.

Cosmos-2016, carrying equipment to continue space exploration, was delivered by a Cosmos booster to an orbit with the following parametres:

Initial period of revolution—104.9 minutes,
Maximum distance from earth—1,026 kilometres,
Minimum distance—973 kilometres,
Inclination—82.9 degrees.

In addition to scientific equipment, the satellite carries a radio system for taking precise measurements of the orbit's parametres and a radiotelemetry system for beaming data on the operation of instruments and scientific equipment back to earth.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

A coordinating-and-computing centre is processing incoming information.

'Phobos' Probe Radiolink Problems Described

LD0404141989 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] The Soviet space mission control center says the radio link with the unmanned interplanetary space probe "Phobos," currently orbiting Mars, has so far failed to be restored. Our reporter has asked a space mission control official, (Yuriy Kolesnikov), to explain what has happened to the probe.

For several weeks, he said, the mission control center received unique information. After many months of flight the probe had entered into orbit around Mars and then closed up with its natural satellite. On commands from the earth the probe changed several orbits to have approached Phobos. However, when a mere several hundred kilometers remained between the probe and the station, communication was frustrated. That happened on Monday, 27th March. The probe's radio transmitter, which under the program had remained silent during another photography session, was expected to switch on at 1859 but failed to do so. The control team urgently issued additional orders which seemed to have worked. At 2050 the space probe responded, however radio communication lasted for a mere 13 minutes. All subsequent attempts to re-establish contact with the "Phobos" probe failed.

What has happened to the spacecraft? Experts have taken intensive measures in a bid to find the causes of the breakdown. Twelve teams of designers, scientists, engineers, and experts in ballistics have around the clock been analyzing the performance of various systems of the space probe and the situation in general to present recommendations to the control team. True, in a situation like this chances for success are controversial. Besides, the "Phobos" probe currently orbiting Mars disappears in the shade of Mars and the Sun for 1 ½ hours three times a day and is beyond the reach of radio transmitters. Besides, the great distance between the earth and the probe poses additional difficulties. It takes a radio message about 15 minutes to reach the probe. The answer travels as long. Yet the control team still have hope, said (Yuriy Kolesnikov).

Experiments, Photography Conducted on 'Mir'

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[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—By TASS special correspondent from the mission control centre:

Cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov go ahead with the scheduled work aboard the orbital research complex Mir. The cosmonauts performed a series of diagram experiments to determine the physical characteristics of the atmosphere near the orbital complex and to assess its aerodynamic drag. The necessary measurements were made by means of a magnetic discharge sensor put out into the open space by a rod through the airlock chamber.

They performed a regular cycle of photography of individual areas of land under the programme for the study of the earth's natural resources and the environment.

Under the medical control plan the mission commander and flight engineer underwent an examination the purpose of which was to determine the bioelectrical activity of the heart in the condition of rest.

Today the space crew will engage mainly in preventive maintenance work aboard the complex. These are to replace a number of power-supply system instruments, the warranty period of which is expiring, by new ones brought by the progress-41 cargo spacecraft.

The flight is proceeding normally. The cosmonauts are feeling well.

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